

METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

DANIEL CURRY, D.D., LL.D., Editor.

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James Elijah Latimer

METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1886.

ART. I.—DEAN J. E. LATIMER.

PROBABLY no man in Methodism filled so important a position with such signal ability and yet drew so little attention to himself as the late Dean of the School of Theology of Boston University—Rev. James Elijah Latimer, S.T.D. He was born at Hartford, Conn., Oct. 7, 1826, and died at Auburndale, Mass., Nov. 27, 1884. The ignorance of the Church in regard to one of the foremost scholars the first century of Episcopal Methodism has produced is a striking proof of his humility. It never occurred to Dean Latimer to prepare any autobiographical notes, or even to preserve a file of his large correspondence. This fact, together with the fact that his life, like that of all scholars, was mainly interior, renders impossible any extended biography. Happily, however, he came in contact with some of the best minds of his generation, and the varying impressions of these witnesses may possibly enable those who never knew him to obtain a more life-like picture of the man than a volume of dry details could give. The impression he produced was so clear and simple, and the independent estimates of his character are so accordant, that our readers are in no danger of being confused by conflicting opinions.

We begin with a charming sketch of Dr. Latimer's boyhood from a letter of reminiscences written by his gifted wife; a sketch so full of interest that one might wish she had carried forward the story to its close.

* At the time of Mr. Latimer's birth his father was a teacher. Soon afterward the family moved to Brooklyn, N. Y. Here the father

opened a private school, which James attended at a very early age. When five and a half years old his mother took him to see his Connecticut relations, *via* the Sound. Upon the boat a gentleman took a fancy to the little fellow, and asked him various geographical questions of constantly increasing difficulty. Finding all his replies accurate, the stranger at last said, "Can you tell me where the city of Hardscrabble is?" The child paused a moment to think, and then promptly answered, "That, sir, is not down upon my map." When eight years old the boy was studying both Latin and Greek, but was not for a moment allowed by his discreet parents to think that his scholarship was in any way remarkable. There was, indeed, a striking incongruity between his scholarship and his deportment. His boyish gleefulness and wit were irrepressible; and upon one occasion, after a most commendable translation from the Fifth Book of Cæsar, he was corrected for inciting the entire school to laughter by one of his mirth-provoking sallies. At eleven years of age the youthful student had mastered all the arithmetics of the day without unusual effort, and commencing algebra, was charmed with the new exercise. Before this period of his life his father had entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and had commenced preaching in western New York. His parents were both scholarly, and retained their habits of reading and study throughout the ceaseless duties attending the bringing up of seven children and the busy cares of itinerant life. The appointments of the father were a source of great joy to the family, as they brought the children to the first schools and academies in that part of the State. Teachers began to employ the young linguist and mathematician as private assistant, giving him his tuition for the help he rendered those less advanced in study, though far more advanced in age and size. At twelve years of age he was prepared for college. As he could not enter at so early an age, employment was found for him in a dry-goods store. Here he was surrounded by fine influences, and gave excellent satisfaction to his employers. It was during this apprenticeship to business that he gave his heart to God. His conversion took place during a revival of remarkable power. He declared that until this time he had steeled his heart against all the influences of home persuasion and revival force, feeling that if he became a Christian he must forsake his plan of studying law, and commence in the school of the prophets as a preparation to join the humble ranks of the Methodist itinerants.

Probably the needs of a Methodist preacher with a large family, and the necessity the boy was under of earning in part, at least, the money for his college course, were the chief reasons of the long interval between his preparation for college and his entrance at Wesleyan University. This impression is confirmed

by the fact that while attending college he taught school during the winter months. But the fact that the boy could wait and work from twelve to eighteen, and not abate by one jot his purpose of going to college, shows perhaps as clearly as his later acquisitions his life-long love of knowledge. His classmate and friend, the Rev. Daniel Steele, D.D., gives this vivid picture of young Latimer's college days :

It was in the autumn of 1844, in the middle of the first term of the year in Wesleyan University, that a light-haired boy of eighteen came into the freshman class. We pitied him for beginning the college race under the disadvantages of his late entrance. But when he was called upon to recite our commiseration was changed to admiration. He was master in all the departments of the old, severe curriculum, and that, too, without apparent effort. He soon projected a parallel course of elective studies, and read Aristophanes's comedies as a kind of sauce to the more solid food of the required Greek tragedies. He also mastered the French and German languages, which were then no part of the college course, required or elective. The extended mathematical course—a daily exercise, without omission, for four years—was only pastime to his sharp and rapid intellect. Meantime he was an omnivorous reader, devouring more books than any half-dozen of his fellow-students. And yet he was no recluse nor book-worm, shutting himself up in the cocoon of unsocial reserve, but a man of affairs, a jovial companion, a brilliant conversationalist, and a ready debater.

While he studied many subjects not included in the college course, yet the thoroughness of his work is evidenced in later life. From the time he left college down to the day of his death he read both the French and German languages fluently ; and during a visit to Europe found himself able to converse intelligently with German professors, and to understand lectures at the Sorbonne in Paris.

Young Latimer was graduated a few weeks before he was twenty-two, under the presidency of Dr. Olin. He was at the beginning of what may be called the second stage of Methodist history in the United States. The Methodist Church had proved one of the grandest recruiting offices for the Lord's militant host of any organization since the days of the apostles. But it had a larger mission to fulfill along with its revival work. Whether or not Wesley clearly foresaw the full mission of Methodism and heartily planned for a permanent, separate

ecclesiastical organization, Asbury and Coke at least saw great possibilities for the infant Church in the new nation. It represented not simply new methods of revival work, but a new theology, which they believed might be made a permanent, if not the dominant, type of faith in the New World. Accordingly they built churches, administered the sacraments, founded colleges, and prepared for the permanent occupation of the country. The repeated destruction by fire of the first college buildings of the Methodist Church in the New World awakened a doubt in the minds of these godly men as to whether their broader plans, especially in the line of education, were in accord with divine providence. These doubts, together with the lack of funds and the demands of direct evangelistic work, delayed the educational interests of Methodism for a generation. But holding and training our converts was the logical sequence of winning them, especially as our theology differed from that of the established Churches; and so this second stage in our history was inevitable and providential. Fisk, Olin, Ruter, Caldwell, and others began founding and developing institutions of learning. Latimer, inheriting scholarly tastes, coming under the inspiration of the sainted Fisk and the direct personal influence of the mighty Olin, responded with alacrity not simply to the general call to Christian service, but to the special work of elevating the standard of consecrated learning in the Church, and so preparing her children to make permanent and final the triumphs of our Lord. Accordingly, from twenty-two to twenty-three he was teacher of languages at Newberry Seminary, Vt. From twenty-three to twenty-five he taught Latin and geology at the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary at Lima, N. Y. When twenty-five he was made Principal of the New Hampshire Conference Seminary, then situated at Northfield, N. H.; and at twenty-eight he was promoted to the headship of the larger and more flourishing Seminary at Fort Plain, N. Y. Soon after this, an interdenominational seminary was founded at Elmira, N. Y., called the Elmira Female College, and Mr. Latimer was at once chosen to represent the Methodist scholarship of the Empire State in the professorship of languages. His success in his chosen calling is shown by the fact that during his first thirteen years' service as a teacher he was five times promoted. During this period

he largely shaped the intellectual and spiritual life of many of the most talented and earnest young people in Methodism, as well as of others outside the Church.

While teaching at the Genesee Seminary he first met Miss Anna Ross, then a pupil at the school. Their acquaintance and friendship ripened into love, and resulted in their marriage, four years later, when he was Principal of the New Hampshire Conference Seminary. She was so well fitted for her new sphere that she taught with him at the Fort Plain Seminary, and later at the Elmira Female College. Her companionship was an unfailing antidote to any discouragement on his part, and the delights of his home probably prolonged his life and usefulness many years.

Other influences in addition to study and teaching contributed to the enlargement and ripening of his powers. It was doubtless a great advantage to him that he was born in a large Christian family, and was trained from infancy to stand in Christian relations to the other members of the household. The unity of purpose and the distinctively Christian character of the family is seen in the fact that all of the brothers and sisters entered upon an open Christian life; while James and the youngest brother, Edward, followed the father into the ministry, and the youngest sister is a missionary in Mexico. But his affectional and spiritual nature was ripened, not simply by family fellowship and a happy marriage, but also by deep personal losses. Every college student is called to settle for himself or herself the problem of the relation of study to health, to find the golden mean between intellectual sloth upon the one side and a broken constitution upon the other. Like many lofty souls young Latimer erred upon the side of earnestness. He contracted dyspepsia from overwork at college, a disease which the heavy responsibility of his teaching developed into a life-long torment. He also suffered intensely from heart disease. The loss of a sister and the frailty of his own tenure of life did not embitter him, but contributed rather to develop that humility, indifference to earthly honor, and that spirituality which in later life were so finely blended with his marvelous learning. He had been converted, as his wife narrates, at thirteen, and he never fell back from that boyhood conversion. But, while he was outspoken in his religious convictions in col-

lege, he was at that time more noted for intellectual than for spiritual attainments. His religion seemed at this period of his life more a code of duties which he strove to fulfill than that joy in the Lord which is one's spiritual strength. But this joy in the Lord came while he was teaching, not so much by any great crisis as by a deepening of his spiritual experience, and by the frequent coming of the Holy Spirit to him and to his pupils. What wonder that this deepening experience brought to him, as it has brought to hundreds of other teachers, a longing for the more directly spiritual work of the Christian ministry!

Again, while the family had enjoyed the father's pastoral charges, it must be remembered that the itinerancy, with its surrender of self-direction and its possibilities of personal disappointment, had made his call to the ministry in boyhood a dreaded but lofty summons. He was now escaping this stern feature of the ministry in the apparently more independent and less heroic work of the teacher. So the itinerancy, with its demand for self-sacrifice and heroism, was constantly appealing to his noblest impulses, and he felt that his offering to God was not quite complete until he was enrolled in the ranks of the traveling preachers.

For eight years he was in the active ministry; serving the most important churches in his Conference with rare acceptability, and with ever-increasing power. He was stationed at the First Church in Elmira, at Asbury and the First Church in Rochester, and at the church in Penn Yan.

His sermons in general were thoughtful, attractive, and inspiring. Yet this modern St. John was a son of thunder too, as with stern and prophetic messages, delivered at times with the charge of preaching politics ringing in his ears, he portrayed at the on-coming of the Civil War the spirit and the outcome of the great slavery contest.

These years seemed to him, in memory at least, the idyllic period of his life. He delighted in after years to recount the various haps and mishaps of pastoral life, and more than once he remarked, at the close of these reminiscences: "I wish I had spent my life in the pulpit and the pastorate." Those who knew him only as a teacher felt that he was divinely called to bear the standard of Christian education in our Church, and some

regarded the diversion into the active ministry as a mistake. He himself was inclined to consider teaching his proper vocation. On the other hand, those who listened to his preaching often contended that the pulpit was his throne, and that, had he devoted his life to the ministry, Methodist history would have been enriched by a preacher combining the learning of Adam Clarke with something of the eloquence of Summerfield. Whether or not a great career might have opened for him in the ministry, it is impossible to say. Occasional sermons, preached when he was deeply moved, when his imagination was kindled, and his thought was melted by emotion, revealed a power of which some more formal discourses before Boston audiences gave scarcely a hint. He certainly was not largely gifted with the magnetic personal presence, the ready emotion, and the creative imagination which make platform speaking a fairly successful calling to men of a certain temperament. He so despised mere effect that he usually checked the emotion that naturally arose within him. He had, on the other hand, a wealth of learning, an ease in recalling and using it without ostentation and almost without effort, a chaste and classical style, a tender nature, a child-like manner, a love for the spiritual side of all truth, and a lofty conscientiousness, which, all combined, made the fair, frail man seem at times like a messenger from God, all the more inspired from his very humility and his utter freedom from all rhetorical arts.

In 1868-69, he spent a year with his wife in Europe. While in Germany he applied for private instruction in philosophy to Professor Erdmann, of Halle, then at the height of his philosophic fame. He went to the professor as an itinerant Methodist preacher from the United States, and made the same terms as other students for private instruction. The distinguished historian of philosophy had not met his unknown pupil a week, however, before he canceled their contract as teacher and pupil, declined pay for his services, and said that they must henceforth meet as equals and common workers in the great field of metaphysics.

In 1870, when forty-three years old, he was called to the chair of historical theology in the Theological School at Boston. Those who knew him best, and especially scholars who were aware of his attainments, agree in the opinion that the Theo-

logical School was his providential field. In this his last field of labor he received a double promotion. At the end of three years' service, when Dr. Warren was called to the heavy responsibility of organizing the new University, Dr. Latimer was advanced to the chair of systematic theology, and also called to the deanship of the School. During his connection of fourteen years with the Theological School, over three hundred ministers received much of their broadest and finest culture, and their noblest inspiration, in the class-room of this great teacher. There is scarcely a mission-field of our Church, or a nation of the civilized world, where they are not at work. In the United States, Canada, Mexico, South America, in Africa, Japan, and China, and in almost every nation of Europe his pupils are found, engaged in preaching and in mission work, in colleges and in literature.

In the organization and initial administration of the new University Dr. Latimer had no inconsiderable part. In virtue of his office as Dean of the School of Theology, he was a permanent member of the important body known as the University Council. It is the duty of this body to consider all questions of administration affecting the inter-relations of the different colleges and schools which are included in the University organization. In it, and especially in his place upon the Standing Committee upon post graduate studies, examinations, and degrees in the School of All Sciences, his excellent judgment, his wide scholarship, and his varied experience were of great value. They gave him an influence upon the highest range of university education which many a prominent college president might justly envy, and which should never be overlooked in any comprehensive estimate of his life. With all the great ideas and achievements of the University he was in heartiest sympathy. While his personal contribution to the upbuilding and fame of the institution can never be sufficiently separated from those of his colleagues to be independently gauged and measured, it is certain that it was a contribution whose results will be fruitful in blessing for generations to come.

President Warren, in his eleventh annual report of Boston University, after calling attention to the fact that such a report is not the place for eulogy, and that he confines his

words to the briefest and most necessary historical allusion, gives the following estimate of his associate's attainments and character:

A broader scholar the country hardly contained. Theology was not his only forte. In the chair of philosophy or history he would have been an ornament to any university in Christendom. A more devout Christian would be hard to find. Through the pupils he trained he will long be a power in the Christian thought and aspiration and achievement of this and other nations.

In another place President Warren says:

Dr. Latimer's habitual range of reading was something quite exceptional. In one of his memorandum books I found a list of the books which he drew from the Athenæum Library during a single season. The number was astonishing. The variety of interest which they represented was equally remarkable. Yet this great library was but one of the supplies on which he was continually drawing. His power of critically dealing with such masses of perused matter was the admiration of his intimate friends from the days when he was a college student till the end. He could always pass a just critical judgment upon every book which had engaged his attention. These judgments, freely given to his pupils, were of great service to them, and added not a little to the charm of his teaching.

Of the scholarship of this gifted teacher Dr. Steele, who was with him more or less from their college days, bears the following witness:

No man within range of the writer's acquaintance had such a facility in mastering and retaining a wealth of learning. In this particular he was a genius. With an intuitive power, a kind of miniature omniscience, he would glance through an alcove of a library and carry away in his memory a summary of every volume for future use. At his funeral the remark was made that Dr. Latimer was the ripest, broadest, and most ready scholar the first century of Episcopal Methodism has produced. None who have been intimate with him will question this high eulogium.

These tributes of Drs. Warren and Steele seem strong. But they are amply sustained by the estimate of a leader in a denomination to which our readers seldom look for encomiums of Methodist scholarship. Dr. A. P. Peabody has been known for years as the Professor of Moral Philosophy at Harvard University, and as a leading scholar of the Unitarian Church. He and Dean Latimer were for several years members of a

Ministers' Club embracing the best scholarship of Boston and Cambridge. Dr. Peabody says:

Dr. Latimer read before our club several essays showing equally thorough conversance with the labors of others and profound and original thought of his own. I suppose that no man among us was better versed, hardly any so well, in the history of philosophy, both ancient and modern; and I was greatly impressed with his familiarity with the modern, especially the German, schools of speculation. He was a foremost scholar in whatever he undertook to learn or to teach. I regarded him as an excellent biblical scholar; for whenever any subject was before us involving biblical criticism, he was second to no one of our number in its discussion. At the same time he seemed to me pre-eminently a Christian scholar. The tokens of his close kinship to his Lord and Master could escape the emphatic attention of no one who knew him. He was a thoroughly lovable man. In our club, in which we all are brethren, no one could have had more entirely the love no less than the respect of all.

It will always be regretted by those who knew him best that he did not publish more. "John Scotus Erigena" and "Mysticism" were the only two articles published in the "Methodist Quarterly Review." Seven articles were contributed to "Zion's Herald." These are all reviews of books, but are of more than temporary interest as showing the reviewer's opinions upon theology, Christian missions, Christian experience, and philosophy. His Baccalaureate sermon before Boston University in 1884 was published under the title, "The Rational Vindication of Christianity." He was also a contributor to "Johnson's Encyclopædia."

Upon the hearty invitation of editors and publishers, and at the earnest solicitation of many friends, he had consented to prepare the central work in Crook and Hurst's theological series—the work on Systematic Theology. He regarded his subject as the queen of sciences. He was distilling into this volume the reading and thinking and convictions of a life-time. It promised to be an *opus magnum*—a monumental work. It can never be completed as he designed it. After the first one hundred pages we have only the skeleton, without the flesh and blood with which he alone could clothe it. If parts of his writings are ever edited they will furnish at best but an outline of his rich study and conclusions. The condensation of the lectures which he dictated to his classes makes them severe

in style. His lectures upon Christian Philosophy, for instance, are broader, richer, and clearer than the coarse print of Ueberweg's History of Philosophy in the fourth edition. But the coarse print of Dr. Ueberweg does not form a fourth of his rich volumes; and all the comments and suggestions with which Dr. Latimer was accustomed to enrich his dictations are only partially preserved in the notes of widely scattered students. It was only when a dictation was challenged or discussed that the students became aware of the manifold reasons, involving the study of volumes and the thought of years, lying back of and determining the very words of the paragraph. This very condensation, however, would give his writings great value for those who have a general knowledge of the subject in hand, and who wish to hear the latest word of scholarship upon the lofty themes of theology and philosophy. Such a volume, if published, would not attract the multitude, but would give earnest thinkers important help upon some of the most difficult problems of Christian philosophy.

As this failure to produce a single volume for publication was a loss to the Church, some of its causes merit a brief discussion. The fact that our Church periodicals are official organs produces an unconscious pressure for unity of thought and expression in their columns. Dean Latimer was not out of sympathy with the great currents of thought in the Church. Perhaps no member of our communion saw more clearly the broad philosophic foundations of Methodist theology. But the very largeness of his vision put him out of sympathy with the narrower and more dogmatic defenses of the faith which he sometimes saw others making, and made his thinking seem somewhat bold to them. The unconscious pressure, not simply for conformity in doctrine, but for agreement in the methods and philosophy by which principles are to be supported, pervades every large Church or party. It seems inseparable from thorough organization. This pressure is not severe, and cannot become tyrannical in our land and time. Nevertheless, it is a force to be recognized in our literature, and probably chilled the freedom of Dr. Latimer's utterance.

Another condition in our Church unfavorable to literary productiveness is the frequent change of professional work, under the call of the Church, upon the part of our leaders. The most

promising men in the ministry have divided their time between two or more of the distinct callings of preacher, teacher, editor, secretary, and bishop. This frequent change of work makes Methodist preachers prominent among other denominations as well-balanced, practical men. But it renders well-nigh impossible the work of a Tischendorf, a Delitzsch, a Greeley, or a Spurgeon. We have produced journalists equal to Horace Greeley in talent and his superior in culture. They are not, however, so far superior to Mr. Greeley that they can make their names a synonym for American journalism in eight or twelve years when it required forty years of undivided effort upon the part of Mr. Greeley to accomplish this result. It may be said that Bishop Simpson was greater than any living preacher in the pulpit. But with his varied work as tutor, professor, editor, bishop, he has left for posterity only a single volume of sermons, gathered after his death and without his own revision. The literary productiveness of his life will not compare with that of several modern preachers who have reached hundreds of thousands through the newspaper publication of their sermons, and who will leave twenty or thirty volumes for posterity. This, however, is only one side of the question. A man's service to his Church and to the world is not comprised in his entire external achievements, much less in his writings. St. John is infinitely more to the world by what he was than by what he did. If by advancing her sons through various callings the Methodist Church is really developing a larger and finer type of manhood, she is doing a diviner work than she could accomplish by converting them into machines to turn out the largest possible products before the eyes of the world. This method may secure in the end the best external results. The books that reach the twenty-fifth or thirtieth century will be far briefer in compass, with far more wisdom, experience, and character compressed into them than most present literary products can boast. If after the fullest development our workers are allowed time and opportunity for a single creation which shall embody their entire personality, whether it be a book, a college, a newspaper, or a new organization, they may yet combine the broadest culture with the highest possible achievement. Dr. Latimer thought that too much was written, and avowed the theory of a single book

which should embody all one's wisdom. While the result of such a process is apt to be finer when reached, the Church must accept the fact that the larger and finer method will more frequently fail of consummation.

If there is regret upon the part of old students that their great teacher never received that public recognition which he merited, and that he died at last with no adequate expression of his wisdom, they must remember that it is of the very nature of his chosen work that it be done in obscurity. Says Phillips Brooks:

The teacher is one of those men who give other men the chance of making history rather than make it themselves. Many a great teacher has been perfectly satisfied with teachership, perfectly content to furnish materials of effective and conspicuous activity in others, and to rest himself in obscurity as they went forth to prominence. Let us always remember that the Perfect Life was content, as one of its highest titles, to be called a teacher's life.

The best teacher is not the one who so pushes himself to the front that his pupils' faculties are repressed and they become the mere echoes of his authority. The greatest teacher is he who so calls out the students' powers by question, suggestion, and inspiration that they fail to distinguish between their own and the teacher's thought. Such a teacher is no more apt to be seen of men than are the roots of the tree over which we pass to gather its falling fruit. This is why the Holy Spirit has been so little recognized thus far in even Christian history. "He shall not bear witness of himself" is Christ's characterization of Him who leads us into all truth.

It must be remembered, also, that Dr. Latimer did not aspire to authorship, nor care for public recognition. His life-long passion, and the spring of his long and varied activity, was his craving after personal holiness in all the largeness and consecration of that term. His chief glory was his discipleship to Christ. He was ever inspired by his Master's promise that he might be led into all truth, and be perfect as his Father in heaven was perfect. It was this that made him hold fast his plan of a college training during six years of working and waiting between his preparation and his entrance. It was this, and no vulgar ambition, which made him the finest student in

his class. It was this which led him to tarry at his studies and at teaching instead of hurrying into the pulpit at the close of his college course. It was this which made him a more earnest student and a more omnivorous reader than any pupil down to the close of his life. It was this which made him dread the ruts and narrowness which life-long work in a single profession and a single place is very apt to induce. It was only through this promise of an enlarged experience that temptations seriously assailed him. He once told me that Byron's writings strongly attracted him for a season in his youth, and the flood of the poet's passion nearly swept him from his moorings. But as he turned to the writings of St. John he found there an infinite sweep which Byron could not approach. So he concluded that it was a part of the deceitfulness of sin to promise an enlargement of knowledge while it really destroyed the spiritual senses, that there was room for illimitable growth upon the side of truth and love and holiness, and only upon that side of man's nature, and that purity was the key to the secrets of God. It was his refusal upon the one side to follow ordinary men into a mere life of routine, into a period when one's education is finished and he begins dying at the top; it was his refusal upon the other side to follow the Byrons and Poes into those experiences of sin which cut the tap-root of the soul, sever its connection with God, and leave the spiritual man dying; it was this combination of constant growth with child-like purity that gave him his transforming power as a teacher and a preacher.

At a time when the intellectual world is thoroughly alive—when many are failing through over-activity without sufficient ripeness—when even the Church is flooded with mediocre literature and we are vainly striving to make our achievements greater than our characters, he probably accomplished more for God by his steady pursuit of truth for its own sake and not as an object of intellectual barter—by his great attainments and child-like humility—by his outward contentment in the performance of inconspicuous duties and his inward struggle for an unrealized perfection, than he could have accomplished by some fame-attracting work. He did not despise but simply lost sight of earthly honors in his eagerness to realize his possibilities as a child and a servant of God.

ART. II.—THE APOLOGETIC VALUE OF MIRACLES.

THE word *miracle*, in its modern and theological sense, has no equivalent in the New Testament. *Θαῦμα*, *miraculum*, is not found there at all. *Τέρας*, the word most nearly akin to it, is of frequent occurrence; but it always appears to refer to the effect on the witnesses rather than to the essence of the occurrence—having thus an altogether subordinate meaning. It is wholly in accordance with the use of language that this, which is originally only a consequence, comes to stand for the thing itself. Still it is never applied to what we call miracles except in connection with other names. They are “signs and wonders,” but never “wonders” alone.

Another word used is *σημεῖα*, *signs*. This is found, as representing the conception in question, more frequently than any other word; and yet it is hardly what the writers on logic call a categorematic term; that is, it requires another word, or other words, to make complete sense. A “sign” implies three conceptions, namely, the phenomenon, the sign, and that of which it is a sign. It thus becomes a very suitable word for the purpose for which it is used in the Bible; and, doubtless, if the Greek word had always been rendered by its English equivalent, it would have prevented much misunderstanding. But it should be borne in mind that it is a generic word, and that the specific term is always understood. Many phenomena are *signs* which are not *miracles*. But a miracle is always a *sign*.

Miracles are also styled *δυνάμεις* (Lat., *virtus*), that is, “powers,” or “mighty works,” as of God.* The “power” is primarily a characteristic of the agent; but by an easy transition it comes to signify the exercise and effect of this power or energy. The word is occasionally translated “mighty works” when thus used, and this would seem to be the appropriate English expression, rather than miracles, as for the most part it is translated. This term, *δυνάμεις*, is the one almost constantly employed by the synoptic evangelists. John more frequently uses *σημεῖα* than any other word, though the most significant word which we find in this writer to express what

* Trench.

we now mean by miracles is *ἔργα*, "works." It clearly indicates a personal power or agency. This interpretation has been called in question by certain writers, they understanding by the term the sum total of the acts and the teachings of Jesus. But these authorities are so few as to prove only exceptions to the general drift of thought. It is not claimed by any that the word is used exclusively in this sense by John; but there are passages where to attribute any other meaning to it would be altogether preposterous. To this reference will be had further on.

From these remarks it is evident that the definition of a miracle is attended with some difficulties. It is by some writers regarded as equivalent to any thing *supernatural*; that is, to any event not explicable on the basis of merely natural law, but requiring a power above nature. Others add to this definition that these supernatural characteristics indicate a divine agency, and certify a divine authority in the person performing, or through whom is performed, the act, and that such an event never occurs except in attestation of some religious movement. It is tolerably evident that the events to which we apply our English word miracle were "wonderful," and that this was not an accidental characteristic. They were designed to excite the emotion which the word implies in the beholder—they were calculated to attract attention. They were also invariably intended to be "signs" of something beyond themselves. Without this latter element there could be nothing worthy of the name. Even if we admit the possibility of supernatural works by evil spirits, these would be put forth as "signs" or indications of something to be believed and accepted by the witnesses. This, from the nature of the case, would be something false and vicious and devilish; hence the whole procedure would be fraudulent, and the miracles would be false miracles. They would be base and wretched imitations of real miracles, which are not only of an incalculably higher character in themselves, but they are signs of that which is true, excellent, and divine.

The miracles of Jesus were signs of his Messiahship, certifying a divine authority—credentials of his divine mission. They were addressed to the prevailing belief of intelligent and pious Jews that no genuine miracle could be wrought but by

the power of God, and that this power was never granted except to a good man.

The proofs of the above proposition are gathered from, 1.) The declarations of the people; 2.) The statements of Christ himself; and 3.) The utterances of the apostles.

1.) The following are some of the passages from the evangelists which clearly indicate the public sentiment of the Jewish people. The point to be particularly observed is, the indication every-where that the masses of the people recognized in the miracles of Jesus the power of God, and that it was to their minds a clear proof that God was with the worker of them. In Matt. ix, 8, after the healing of the "sick of the palsy," we find it was spontaneous with the multitude, when they saw what had been done, that "they marveled, and glorified God, which had given such power unto men." Also in the same chapter, verses 32-34, we have the effect of the cure of the dumb demoniac: "The multitudes marveled, saying, It was never so seen in Israel." Matt. xii, 22, 23, gives an account of the healing of a blind and dumb demoniac: "And all the people were amazed, and said, Is not this the son of David?" In Matt. xiv, 33, when Jesus, after walking on the sea of Galilee, had come to his disciples in the ship, "they that were in the ship came and worshiped him, saying, Of a truth thou art the Son of God." After the healing of the demoniac recounted in Mark i, 23-27, the people said, "What thing is this? . . . for with authority commandeth he even the unclean spirits, and they do obey him." In Luke vii, 16, at the raising of the son of the widow of Nain, we read that, "There came a fear on all: and they glorified God, saying, That a great prophet is risen up among us; and, That God hath visited his people." In Luke xviii, 43, when sight had been restored to a blind man, "all the people, when they saw it, gave praise unto God." In John ii, 11, we read: "This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana . . . and manifested forth his glory; and his disciples believed on him." John iii, 2, Nicodemus said, "We know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him." John vi, 14, on the occasion of the miracle of the loaves, those who were present said, "This is of a truth that Prophet which should come into the world." John ii, 23, "Now when he was in Jeru-

salem at the passover, in the feast day, many believed in his name, when they saw the miracles which he did." John vii, 31, again at Jerusalem, many of the people believed on him and said, "When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man hath done?" In John ix, 30-32, we have the ready, clear, and conclusive argument of the man who had been born blind, whose eyes Jesus had opened: "Why herein is a marvelous thing, that ye know not from whence he is, and yet he hath opened mine eyes. . . . Since the world began was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind. If this man were not of God, he could do nothing." See also verse 16: "How can a man that is a sinner do such miracles?" Also x, 21: "Can a devil open the eyes of the blind?"

2.) The declarations of Jesus himself which indicate the character and purpose of his miracles are numerous. Any thing more explicit can scarcely be conceived than the words contained in Matt. ix, 6, on the occasion of healing the man "sick of the palsy." The words, "Thy sins be forgiven thee," had startled and scandalized the by-standers. Muttered maledictions were beginning to be uttered. "And Jesus knowing their thoughts said, Wherefore think ye evil in your hearts? For whether is easier, to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee; or to say, Arise, and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (then saith he to the sick of the palsy), Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thine house." The reasoning is clear and simple and the conclusion unequivocal. A being who has power to produce such a marvelous physical change must be in such relation to God that he would not, without authority, presume to declare the forgiveness of sins.

In Matthew xi, 4, 5, we read, "Jesus . . . said unto them, Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see: The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them." This, it must be recollected, was the answer of Jesus to John's inquiry whether he were really the Messiah. (See also Luke vii, 19-23.) We read in Matt. xii, 28, "But if I cast out devils by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you." (See also

Mark ii, 7-11; Luke v, 18-26.) In John v, 36, it is said, "But I have greater witness than that of John: for the works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me." John ix, 2, 3, "And his disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind? Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents; but that the works of God should be made manifest in him." In John xi, 41, 42, at the raising of Lazarus, "Jesus lifted up his eyes, and said, Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me. And I knew that thou hearest me always: but because of the people which stand by I said it, that they may believe that thou hast sent me." John xiv, 11, "Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me: or else believe me for the very works' sake." John x, 37, 38, "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works; that ye may know, and believe, that the Father is in me, and I in him." Also verse 25: "The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me." John xv, 24: "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin. But now have they both seen and hated both me and my Father."

As before remarked, it has been claimed that by the "works" in these passages Jesus refers not merely to his miracles, but to the whole of his words and acts. This may be true in certain instances, and in some sense in all. Yet obviously the term is used in some of these passages in such a specific way that the prominent reference must be to his miraculous manifestations. There need be no dispute that Christ's character and the character of the "works" are closely associated in the statements—the one is necessarily the outcome of the other. But that the miraculous element is the essential and effective characteristic in many of these utterances is very obvious. To leave this out, and to limit the term as indicating only the moral character of the public addresses and other deeds of Christ, will evidently create more difficulties than it will relieve. Christ clearly discriminates between his "words" and his "works," always giving much the greater emphasis to the latter. Furthermore, aside from these, the labors of Christ, so far as mere human appearance and apprehension go, were

not distinguished above those of his predecessors and successors. Indeed, we may say that in this respect, and so far as any possible immediate effect upon contemporaries is concerned, the lives of many of the prophets and religious men of the Old Testament, and of the apostles and others in the earlier and even in the later days of Christianity, exceeded his. The work of Moses, of Samuel, of Elijah, of Isaiah and Jeremiah, of Daniel and Ezra, of John the Baptist, of Paul and Peter, and of Wielif, Luther, and Wesley, in each several case was, in outward appearance and effect, greater than that of Jesus during any portion of his active ministry, if we eliminate what has been regarded as the supernatural element in it. It is true that the *one great* work of Christ infinitely transcends all the works of all other men, and as well all human conception. But this was not visible nor apprehensible when he made his appeals to the Jews, and it could not have been this to which he directed their attention in proof of his divine mission.

3.) The apostles boldly cite these miraculous works of Jesus as proofs to the Jews of his Messiahship. In John xx, 30, 31, it is said, "And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book: but these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." Acts ii, 22, "Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know." Heb. ii, 3, 4, "How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation; which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him; God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will?"

So many and so positive are the Scripture statements in support of the position taken near the beginning of this article. They fairly indicate the doctrine of the New Testament on this subject, unless equally positive and equally numerous texts are found to neutralize them. The doctrine contradictory to the one we have here attempted to sustain is comprised in the statement that miracles are not credentials of any thing, and that they have no evidential value in respect to religion or revelation. So far as the miracles of Jesus are concerned the

argument for this view is embraced in the two following propositions: 1) That the Jews held that miracles might be wrought by evil spirits; and 2) That therefore it would be impossible to infer from such manifestations the divine mission of the worker.

The positive proofs advanced in favor of these propositions are very few. Scarcely half a dozen passages in the New Testament can be cited that in any sense furnish support to this doctrine, and all these can be easily interpreted to harmonize with those already quoted on the opposite side. Take, for instance, that in which Christ is accused of casting out devils by Beelzebub. This is so obviously the utterance of partisan bigotry and baffled malice as to have no relation to candid public sentiment. Its hypocrisy and blasphemy called forth the most terrible rebuke ever pronounced by Jesus. There are two or three other passages which record the accusations of certain parties to the effect that Christ was possessed of a devil, or that he was a sinner, which are clearly inspired by the same disreputable and malevolent disposition. It is quite conceivable that many who were unfavorably situated in relation to the events which were transpiring, or who had unconsciously become prejudiced, might innocently mistake Christ's character, and might regard him as an impostor; but this in no way affects the question.

It has been urged that the Bible itself teaches that supernatural effects are brought about through the agency of evil spirits, and that the Jewish people in the time of Christ believed this. We regard this as an open question. But it is not necessary to discuss it here. Admitting the theory implied for the sake of the argument, no candid thinker will for a moment insist that the phenomena alluded to are to be put on a level with miracles wrought by the power of God as claimed in the Bible. In every case in which they are brought into any thing like competition with each other, we see at once how feeble the former are as compared with the latter. The most conspicuous case of this kind is the contest of the Egyptian magicians with Moses. Their miracles were simply imitations of his. Aaron's rod became a serpent. Apparently the same transformation of their rods took place; but Aaron's rod swallowed up all theirs. Moses turned the water to blood.

Again they imitate him—not a very difficult achievement one would think, since all the water in rivers and ponds and pools and even drinking vessels had been changed. Moses brings in frogs till they are on every plat of ground, in every house and every room, and clinging about every person. It would not be very wonderful to appear to produce more frogs. It were something to the purpose to furnish some pure water, or even in some moderate degree to abate the nuisance of the frogs; but so far as we are informed neither of these was attempted. Even the poor mimicry with which the contest opened soon failed them, and the magicians retired vanquished from the field. In all the instances recorded in the Bible and generally elsewhere, these miracles of soothsayers, magicians, and false prophets are of a trivial, sensational, and unmeaning character. They are altogether rudimentary and indefinite. Frequently they originate with persons either physically or mentally disordered. The demoniacs of the New Testament were numerous, and we may readily admit that they were, as the statements of the evangelists naturally and obviously imply, under the control of evil spirits. But where is there the slightest intimation of their ever doing any thing worthy of the name of a miracle? It was unquestionably the public voice which said, “Can a devil open the eyes of the blind?”

The rabbis distinguished true from false miracles by six chief tests: 1) The *object* must be worthy of the divine Author; 2) The performance must be *public*, and 3) Submitted to the *senses*, so that men might judge of their reality; 4) The mode of working must be *independent of second causes*; 5) They must be attested by *contemporaneous evidence*; 6) Recorded by a *monument*, or in some form equally permanent.*

With such rules as these it is improbable that any person who was really anxious to know the truth respecting Christ's miracles at the time when they were wrought would fail to be convinced of his divine mission. We see at a glance how far any of the so-called miracles wrought by diviners, soothsayers, magicians, astrologers, or the possessed of devils, fall short of these tests.

The fact that great numbers of persons rejected the claims

* Smith's "New Testament History," p. 212.

of Christ, and ignored the testimony of the miracles, is of no force against the general position here maintained. It is not the method of the divine procedure to offer such evidence as will *compel* conviction, or, at least, practical acceptance of the truth. There are thousands all around us to-day who not only have ample reason, according to their own testimony, to admit and acknowledge the substantial claims of Christianity, but who actually do this, who still reject Christ and refuse to submit themselves to God. The miracles of Christ were sufficient to convince candid and unprejudiced and fairly intelligent Jews that he was the Messiah; but they were not, and were not intended to be, of the nature of irresistible evidence. Hence the fact that the nation rejected him not only does not militate against the doctrine herein set forth, but it was something anticipated and predicted.

There are certain obvious inferences from what has been said: 1.) That a supernatural event is not necessarily a miracle, in the sense of the New Testament words which we thus translate; but a miracle in this sense is always a supernatural event. 2.) That though a miracle is always a remarkable event, and calculated to excite wonder, it is also something more than that. 3.) That while there are many signs and tokens of religious truth, these are not always miracles; yet a real miracle is always a sign of divine agency and authority. 4.) A miracle is to be defined as an event wrought through human instrumentality, and not explicable on the basis of merely natural laws or causes, but requiring a power above nature indicating a divine agency, and certifying a divine authority in the person performing the act, and never occurring except in attestation of a religious movement.

The miracles of Jesus, though having many features in common with all other Bible miracles, yet in several particulars differed from them. Certain peculiarities of the former have been noticed by several writers. The following are the more prominent of these: 1.) Christ always wrought in his own name. He obviously exercises a power as of his own. His references to the Father in connection with the forth-puttings of his power are evidently intended to indicate the identity of his action and purpose with God's action and purpose. In this respect we see a marked distinction between Christ and any of

his predecessors or successors. 2.) Connected with this peculiarity is that of the confidence, ease, and naturalness with which these works are performed by Christ, as compared with a kind of difficulty, hesitancy, and struggle often observed in the most conspicuous of the Old Testament miracles. Compare Elijah and Elisha in restoring the dead children to life with the acts of Christ in the cases of the son of the widow of Nain, and of Lazarus; also, that of Moses in the healing of Miriam and the healing of the lepers by Jesus. 3.) The larger and freer character of the works of Christ is also noticeable. His miracles are for the most part upon a greater scale. Furthermore it is observable that most of the workers of miracles before Christ used some material instrument, as a staff or rod, not as having any magical or talismanic influence, but as a symbol to aid the senses in the performance of their work. Nothing of this kind is found in connection with the miracles of Christ. 4.) The miracles of the Old Testament were largely in the sphere of external nature; those of Christ were chiefly in that of humanity. 5.) Finally, the supernatural works of Jesus differed from most of those of the Old Testament in the fact that the former, almost without exception, were in the way of beneficence, while the latter were much more frequently in execution of judgment, or as signs of the divine wrath and indignation against sin.*

What, then, is the apologetic value of the miracles of Jesus to us of this age? Taken by themselves as evidences of the truth of Christianity, we are constrained to regard them as of no value whatever. We have the evidence of "greater works than these" to the truth of this system of religion. To us Christianity proves the miracles rather than the miracles prove Christianity. Says Robertson: "The strongest proof of Christianity is Christianity." To the Jews at the time of the advent it was altogether different. A momentous change was to take place, a great new movement was to be inaugurated. Neither the movement nor the leader in it was unanticipated. They had been foretold and expected for many ages. But how was their arrival to be made known? Miracles to them were indispensable, so far as we can see, both as the fulfillment of prophecy and as credentials of the Messiah. Christ being

* See Trench more fully.

what he was, and Christianity being what it is, it appears impossible that there should have been no miracles. They were demonstrative evidences, then and there, of a new and divine dispensation; but by and of themselves they prove nothing to remote generations.

But though of no essential apologetic value in the nineteenth century, they are of incalculable historical value. They are implied in the very nature of the case; we are compelled to think of them as essential conditions; and they are involved among the fundamental facts of our religion. To deny them or to explain them away is to destroy the credibility of revelation. We may say of them in a general way what Paul has said of the greatest of them all, if they are not facts, "then is our preaching vain, and your faith also is vain." It is this which gives importance to the numerous and successive systems of modern Rationalism. This is the point of concentrated assault by the foes of Christianity. Once do away with the conviction of the supernatural in our religion and its overthrow becomes easy.

ART. III.—MADAGASCAR.

MADAGASCAR, the Great Britain of the Indian Ocean, and the field on which the militant Church has won one of its proudest triumphs, fills a large place in the eye of modern Christendom. Information concerning it is surprisingly abundant. In addition to many books in English and French, numerous papers upon the exploration, natural resources, animal and vegetable life, political and religious condition of the country, have been given to the world. M. Alfred Grandidier's "*Histoire Naturelle, Physique, et Politique de Madagascar*," in twenty-eight quarto volumes, alone includes almost every thing of scientific worth to be found elsewhere.

Madagascar, the third largest island in the world, is situated in the Indian Ocean, about 300 miles from the south-east corner of the African continent, from which it is separated by the Channel of Mozambique—from 230 to 300 miles across. Its extreme length from north to south is very nearly 1,000 miles. Cape Amber, the northernmost point, is in 12 degrees south

latitude, and the southernmost point at about 25 degrees 35 minutes. The main axis of the island runs from north-north-east to south-south-west. The broadest part, from Cape St. Andrew on the west to Tamatave on the east, is 354 miles. North of this line the shape of the island is that of a long, irregular triangle. Southward the average breadth is about 250 miles. The superficial area embraces nearly 230,000 square miles.

Two thirds of the eastern shore are almost rectilinear, broken by very few inlets. Tamatave and Foul Point, the most frequented ports on this side of the island, are mere open roadsteads, protected by coral reefs. North of these is Antongil Bay, a deep, wide inlet, running 50 miles northwardly. Farther north is Port Louquez; and immediately on the north of the island is Diego Suarez Bay, one of the finest harbors in the world. The north-west coast presents numerous inlets, some land-locked, and of considerable extent. South of these are the bays of Chimpaiky, Pàssandàva, Port Radàma, Narinda, Majámbo, Bembatoka, and Iboina; and the estuaries of a number of rivers. South of Cape St. Andrew, the north-west angle of the island, there is nothing in the shape of a gulf until the bay of St. Augustine is reached. The only indentation on the southern shore is the small bay of Itapéra, near Fort Dauphin on the south-east. The map of James Sibree, Jr., F.R.G.S., prepared from the various maps of naturalists, shows that more than one third of the interior is occupied by a mountainous region, lying to the north and east. Other hilly ranges are found in the west. Around the first, and between it and the latter, are extensive plains, as yet but partially explored.

While the shores of the southern half of the island are low and flat, much of the northern coast is bold and precipitous. The littoral plains on the eastern side vary from 10 to 50 miles in width; those on the western are often 100 miles across. Successive ranges of hills lead from the coast plains to the elevated interior, which is broken up in all directions by mountains. Four peaks of the basaltic Ankàratra Mountains protrude through the gneiss and granite of the great central range and rise to the height of from 8,100 to 8,950 feet above the sea level, and from 3,900 to 4,700 feet above the surface of the circumjacent country. The loftiest of these peaks bears the significant title of Tsi-àfa javona, that is, "that which the mists cannot climb."

To the south of these, in the Bétsiléo province, are very many other imposing peaks, some of which attain to an elevation of nearly 8,000 feet. Farther south, in the Bàra district, the Isalo Mountains are said by a recent traveler to resemble the "Church Buttes" and other striking features of the scenery on the line of the Union Pacific Railroad. But the most majestic of all the Malagasy mountains is the isolated peak known as Ambòhitra, near the northern extremity of the island. Rising from plains but little above the level of the sea, its grand proportions command notice from every direction, and it is seen far out at sea.

Fertile plains and luxuriant valleys thread this rugged network of volcanic hills and peaks. Those of Bétsimitàtatra in Imérina and Tsiénimparihy in Bétsiléo yield extraordinary crops of rice. Still more extensive valleys occupy other portions of Madagascar, the central portion of which exhibits a saucer-like depression. As the eastern mountains are the highest, the water-shed on the east is not more than from 50 to 80 miles from the sea. The copious rain-fall on the north and east constantly replenishes the countless springs and streams, and imparts productiveness and verdure to the soil. But in portions of the west, south-west, and south the supply of moisture is inadequate and the land arid. The principal rivers flow into the Mozambique Channel, and are usually choked by sand-bars. They are seldom navigable for more than 30 or 40 miles, except for native canoes. The Betsibòka, on the west, may be ascended by light-draught steamers for about 90 miles, and by smaller craft for 160. The Tsiribihina is navigable for a long distance, and pours such an immense flood into the sea that its waters are fresh at a distance of three miles from the land. Dense forests, magnificent gorges, rocky bars, and grand cataracts effectually prevent navigation. The Mâtitanana descends at one plunge nearly 500 feet. Of the few large lakes in the country the Alàotra is 25 miles, and the Itasy is about eight miles, long.

The geological structure of Madagascar is easily apprehended. Powerful subterranean action from south-east to north-west and north, along a line whose northern extremity is in the volcanic Comoro Islands, is often experienced. Eruptions have ceased, but numerous extinct craters, cones, and lava masses attest their

former violence. Dr. Mullens counted 100 craters within an area of 90 miles round the mass of Ankàratra. Ambôhitra is an ancient volcano. Columnar basalt, pumice, and volcanic ashes are frequent. Earthquake shocks and thermal springs indicate that in the depths the "wonted fires" are still glowing. In the eastern and central provinces are numerous sulphur springs. The granite, gneiss, and basalt rocks cresting the hills of the upper region often resemble Titanic castles, pyramids, and cathedrals. Madagascar is, geologically, one of the oldest lands on the face of the earth, the island having in the central parts neither stratified nor fossiliferous rocks. The southern and western plains are comparatively recent accretions, and only rise from 300 to 600 feet above the sea level. Belonging to the secondary period, their fossils are of a later age. Abundance of iron, unworked deposits of copper and silver ore, antimony, rock-salt, plumbago, various ochers and colored earths are among the mineral products. Lignite suitable for fuel occurs on the north-west coast, but true coal has not yet been discovered. Bare rolling moors, distinguished by bright red and light brown clays, and rich valleys, whose vegetable soil is of bluish-black alluvium, are general features of the landscape.

Cogent reasons, drawn from the study of ethnography, philology, botany, zoology, and geology, have led many scientists to the conclusion that Madagascar and adjacent islands are the remains of a primeval continent that once covered much of that section of the southern hemisphere. From the fact that in southern Africa and south-western Asia occur the only apes known in the world, Professor Winchell infers that these regions are best fitted for the reception of the human animal.

A similar opinion has also been formed, on more general zoological and geological grounds, by M. Milne Edwards, who suggests that what he designates the "Mascavene continent" has disappeared from a region situated south-east of Africa. More recently the eminent English ornithologist, Selater, has given the name Lemuria to a supposed obliterated land, including the Mascavene continent of Milne Edwards, and stretching across the Indian Ocean to Ceylon and Sumatra, and including the Laccadives and Maldives.

The wide distribution, in southern latitudes, of various species of *Phycosperma*, all very difficult of dissemination, in the

opinion of the botanist Beccari, makes it necessary that we should "assume the former existence of obliterated lands in the very region where the Indian Ocean, with its storms and tempests, is to-day exclusive monarch—exactly in the region where we must locate the hypothetical Lemuria in order to explain the otherwise incomprehensible facts of the geographical distribution of animals."

Dr. Winchell acknowledges that geologists were mistaken in asserting the remote antiquity of man because the extinct mammoth and cave bear have been his contemporaries, and concedes that extinction of species are not necessarily remote in time.

The European *urus*, the Arctic *manatee*, the *Balœna biscayensis*—a whale which was once the basis of a flourishing industry on the coasts of France and Spain—the American mammoth, and the Irish elk, have all ceased to exist within the human period. "Species are constantly dropping out of existence" as environment becomes unfavorable to their continuance. Similar conditions of floral or faunal life in different parts of the earth are accompanied by the same or similar forms.

In the high interior of Madagascar the climate is temperate and salubrious. The hot and rainy season lasts from November to April, the cool and dry from April to November. The average annual mean temperature on the east coast is 77 or 78 degrees Fahrenheit, the range being from 70 degrees at sunrise to 86 degrees in the afternoon. The temperature of Antananarivo, the capital, is like that of Palermo or Naples. The vapor-laden trade-winds deposit much moisture on the east coast. Drained almost dry by the central mountains, they have but little left for precipitation on the western shores. Terrific thunder-storms are, with intense lightning, of frequent occurrence. Malarial fevers, of deadly and malignant type, are prevalent on the low-lying coasts, and are as fatal to natives of the elevated provinces as to Europeans.

The vegetable growth of the island is remarkably luxuriant. An almost unbroken belt of dense forest, at no great distance from the sea, encircles the interior. On the north-west two lines of it overlap for a hundred miles, and leave an opening seventy miles wide between them. This unique arboreal girdle is from fifteen to twenty miles in width, but reaches forty miles on the north-east. Containing a large variety of hard-wood

and valuable timber trees, as well as numerous species of palm, bamboo, tree fern, euphorbia, pandanus, baobab, tamarind, etc., besides ferns, of which two hundred and fifty species have been collected, and some of which are filmy and viviparous, and also many interesting orchids, their forests are one of the principal sources of wealth to the inhabitants.

The number of known floral genera is about seven hundred, of which eighty are supposed to be endemic. But as yet the flora is not half-known. Of spiny and prickly plants there is large variety; also of grasses, reeds, and rushes, many of which are of excellent service in native manufactures.

Rev. Mr. Ellis, who spent some years in the island, writes, in his "History of Madagascar:"

One of the most beautiful things to be found in Madagascar is its grass. This covers many thousands of square miles. It is beautiful, as it spreads abroad over the open plains, where it is short, compact, and juicy, and supplies abundant nourishment to the great herds which the nobles of the land send to fatten upon what costs them nothing. It is beautiful in the sheltered valleys, where the soft, tender blades, enriched by the pearly dew and the gentle rain, are refreshing to the eye, and yield like velvet beneath the foot. . . . Burned year after year by long, sweeping fires, it springs up again with a profusion and a fullness which clasp huge rocks within its soft embrace. Here it is short but strong; there it rises into vast tufts, each of which contains many thousand blades, and covers many feet of ground; and yet again it spreads over vast patches of country in thick, tall masses, which tower above men's heads, open their tinted blades to the warm sun, and wave their myriads of golden feathers in the summer winds. —Vol. ii, p. 458.

Rice is the staff of life to the Malagasy. Maize, millet, manioc, yams, and sweet potatoes are indigenous. The common potato is an exotic. Many species of vegetables and fruits have been introduced by Europeans. Gum, copal, and caoutchouc are exported in considerable quantities, and are among the commodities that promise to become the source of future national prosperity.

The ornithology of Madagascar, although richer than the mammals, lacks the largest and most brilliantly colored birds. Of its more than 220 species, nearly one half are peculiar to the island. Some of the birds are of such peculiar structure that they puzzle the ornithologists, and make it extremely difficult

to classify them. Lakes and streams are alive with water-fowl. Four or five centuries ago this insular country was the home of the *Aepyornis*, a member of the ostrich family, whose eggs, found in a sub-fossil state, are $12\frac{1}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{8}$ inches in size. This singular bird is now extinct. Deadly serpents are unknown. Two or three small species of boa occur. Crocodiles are excessively numerous in the lakes and rivers, are ferocious and dangerous, and scarcely compensate for their ravages by the supply of their eggs for the food of the natives. Feared by the heathen as beings possessed of supernatural power, the people "invoke their forbearance with prayers, or seek protection by charms, rather than attack them. Even the shaking of a spear over the waters would be regarded as an act of sacrilegious insult to the sovereign of the flood, imperiling the life of the offender the next time he should venture on the water." The Christianized natives have lost all superstitious dread of the brute, and do not hesitate to attack and destroy him. Crocodiles' teeth are worn as charms. Lizards, chameleons, and tree-frogs inhabit the woods. Several peculiar tortoises attract curiosity. The gigantic species, however, has almost if not quite ceased to exist, and is now mainly found upon the little island of Aldebra to the north. Insects are multitudinous. Splendidly colored beetles, butterflies, moths, spiders, locusts, and also noxious spiders, scorpions, and centipedes, interest and delight the naturalist. The entire Madagascar fauna is strongly individualized, and corresponds with its geological singularities and isolation from other zoological regions. The Asiatic and Malayan affinities of the animals, coupled with the physical conditions of the bed of the Indian Ocean in that section of the globe, induced A. R. Wallace to accept the theory that Madagascar is the chief relic of an archipelago or continent still slowly sinking beneath the waves.

The population of the island is known collectively as the Malagasy, and is variously estimated at from 2,500,000 to 5,000,000. These are divided into numerous tribes, each of which has its own name and customs. Near as they are to Africa, they are not African, but belong to the Malayo-Polynesian stock. Physical similarities, mental habits, customs, and language—the latter particularly—unite to establish this relationship. Tradition leads to the same conclusion. African

immigration has modified the tribes on the western side, and Arab blood has been infused into those on the north-west and south-east coasts. The different Malagasy tribes preserve traditions of an earlier people called Vazimba, whose alleged graves, covered by small shapeless heaps of stone, are scattered over the bare downs of Imérina. The superstitious fear of the Hôva forbids the exploration of these African "barrows." When further enlightenment permits investigation it will probably be found that the Vazimba were a tribe allied to the Kimos and Béhôsy, aborigines of low stature, and resembling in other physical characteristics the Bushmen of southern Africa. Dr. Mullens maintains that "they were a true Malagasy people," with "nothing African about them."

On the east of the island are the Bétsimisâraka, Bezànozàno, Tanàla, Taisàka, Taimôro, and others; in the center, the Silà-naka, Hôva, Bétsiléô, Bàra, etc.; in the west, the generic Sà-kalàva—so called from the conquering tribe, although the vanquished retain their own proper names and individuality. The Hôva, occupying the central province of Imérina, are the dominant tribe. These are held to be the latest immigrants. Lighter in color, they are certainly far in advance of their countrymen in point of intelligence and civilization. Starting in the south-east, they have pushed their conquests over most of the island, and are manifestly destined to be the ruling race. As a whole, says Mullens, "the Malagasy are a Malay people, following Malay customs, some of them possessing Malay eyes and hair and features, and all of them speaking a Malay tongue at the present hour."

The language of the Malagasy is substantially one throughout the country. Dialectic differences of vocabulary and pronunciation are marked, but there are no traces of any distinctively different speech.

Some of the words of this widely extended language are said to be identical with the Sanskrit, others with the Hebrew and Arabic. The Malagasy was probably derived from a language, rich, flexible, and exact, spoken by an intellectual people whose culture it reflected. This seems to have been the opinion of many able scholars who have studied the migrations of the races.

Destitute of written characters, excepting some rude attempts at picture-drawing found near St. Augustine's Bay, the Malagasy

had no manuscripts, inscriptions, or books until their language was reduced to writing by English missionaries over sixty years ago. In many of its verbal and other forms it is very copious, but it has also some curious deficiencies. Full of vowels and liquids, and free from all harsh gutturals, it is very soft and musical. Native oratory is affluent in figures, metaphors, and parables. Folk-tales, songs, legends, and very numerous proverbs attest the intellectual power and imaginative faculty of the people.

The Malagasy have never fallen into the depths of savagery and barbarism, and are wholly free from the cannibal practices of allied peoples. Endowed with strong tribal instincts, they are loyal and law-abiding. Living in settled communities, in villages often skillfully fortified, and under the patriarchal government of chiefs and elders, they present fewer difficulties to evangelization than do the nomadic races. In Imérina the Hôva are divided into three great classes: the Andriana, or nobles; the Hôva, freemen, or commoners; and the Andèvo, or slaves. The Andriana are really royal clans, descendants of the petty kings and nobles who succumbed to the power of the present reigning dynasty. Resembling the *boyars* of Russia, and the *noblesse* of France, they are entitled to certain honors in virtue of origin; for example, special terms of salutation, the use of the smaller scarlet umbrella, the right to build a particular kind of tomb, exemption from certain kinds of government service, and from sundry punishments for crime. Of the six ranks of Andriana, besides the royal clan, many members hold estates by a kind of feudal tenure from the sovereign. Often segregated in separate communities, and monopolizing some of the handicrafts, they are frequently very poor, and exhibit no outward distinctions between themselves and the people at large. The Hôva, or commoners, compose the mass of the freemen, and consist of a large number of tribes, whose members usually intermarry so as to keep property and land together. They may, like the Andriana, be either civilians or of the military class. The third social division includes the slaves. Up to 1877 these consisted, first, of the offspring of the Hôva, or freemen, reduced to slavery for debt, or for political or criminal offenses; second, the Andèvo, or slaves proper, descendants of the Malagasy tribes subdued and enslaved by the Hôva;

third, the Mozambiques, or African slaves, and their descendants, imported in Arab slaving dhows. These in 1877 were liberated and mainly reckoned with the Hôva, or freemen. Hôva, in the widest sense of the term, means the entire population of Imérina. Malagasy chieftainship and royalty retain semi-sacred character. In life, the heathen chief is the high-priest of his people, and after death he is worshiped as a god.

Arab connection with Madagascar began at a very remote epoch. Adventurers made settlements in the north-west and south-east of the island. In the latter section a few of their descendants still preserve some little knowledge of the Arabic tongue. The ruling clans of the Tanàla and other tribes in the district are evidently of Arabian extraction. Amalgamation with the mass of the population is, however, almost complete. In the north-west the large Arab colonies seated in the ports of Amòrontsànga, Mòjangà, Màrovoây, and Mòrondàva, retain their distinctive nationality, together with their dress, habits, houses, worship, and language. In earlier times the Arabs exerted powerful influence upon the Malagasy. Many words from the Arabic are found in the native tongue. Among them are the names of the months, and days of the week; terms used in astrology and divination, some forms of salutation, words for dress and bedding, money, musical instruments, books, writing, and many miscellaneous terms. In the north-west of the island there is also a large Hindu element in the population. In some towns it is quite as conspicuous as the Arabic constituent. Hindu dress, ornaments, food, music, and language are special features in the social life of these places. Inter-course is now, and has been for centuries, kept up between India and northern Madagascar. The introduction of Christianity, followed by foreign commerce, has already modified the social constitution of the Malagasy people, and will inevitably lead to still further changes.

Rice culture is necessarily the principal industrial pursuit. Remarkable engineering talent has been developed through ages of thoughtful devotion to it. As in nearly all barbarous and semi-civilized countries, women do much of the hard labor. Rice, roots, vegetables, and fish are the chief articles of diet. Occasionally flesh from the fine herds of humped cattle, found all over the country, is added. "Give to the Malagasy," says

Mullens, "rice and gravy, gravy and rice, and they desire little more."

In 1853 the average price of a good ox was five dollars; eight or ten turkeys could be bought for a dollar, and a score or couple of dozen fowls for the same sum. The schedule of prices is probably still about the same.

The manufacture of textile fabrics is one of the most important industries. Women spin and weave, and by the simplest means produce strong, durable cloths of silk, cotton, hemp, rôfia palm, aloe, and banana fiber of elegant patterns and tasteful colors. Mats and baskets of delicate fineness, hats like those of Panama, and rush mattings are also fabricated. The use of vegetable fibers for clothing is another strong link connecting the islanders with the Polynesian race, and differentiates them from the skin-clad tribes of South Africa. The *salaka*, a loin-cloth for men, and the *kitamby*, or apron, folded round the body from waist to heel, for women, are covered in both sexes by the *lamba*, a large square of cloth of different materials, folded round the body, something like a Roman toga. The large white *lamba*, bordered with the *akotso*, or fine, broad stripes, is the distinctive badge of the Hôva. The hair of all the Hôva of pure blood is black and smooth, rich and glossy. The former custom of ladies used to divide it into twenty or more sections, plaited together and tied up into a small bow. Different fashions prevailed in different tribes, but being found inconsistent with cleanliness and comfort, many of these have been abandoned, and the Anglo-Saxon plan of daily dressing the hair adopted.

Artistic genius is common among the Malagasy. Even the heathen are skillful metal-workers, and by means of the rudest tools manufacture fine silver chains and filagree ornaments of gold and silver. The introduction of European artisans has still further improved mechanical talent. Their work in iron, copper, and brass is excellent. Every thing made by foreigners is successfully imitated. European ideas are quickly seized and adopted, and considerable power of invention is also exemplified. Domestic architecture is various. To the dark-skinned tribes, inhabiting the hot, saline plains on the coast, the *pandanus* is invaluable. Most of the Hôva houses are constructed of hard-red clay, with high-pitched roofs, thatched with grass

or rushes. The chiefs and rich men build houses of framed timber, covered with massive upright planking, and having lofty roofs of shingle or tile.

Antanànarivo, the capital, is not only the largest city in the island, but it contains the most inhabitants. Here the old timber and brush houses have nearly all been replaced by much larger and more substantial ones of sun-dried brick and stone, constructed in European fashion. A group of royal palaces crowns the summit of the ridge on which the city is built. Four handsome stone memorial churches, with spires or towers, mark the spots where the Christian martyrs suffered. Other notable buildings are the Chapel Royal, the Norwegian and Roman Catholic churches, the London Missionary Society's college, the London Missionary Society's and Friends' normal schools, mission hospitals, the court of justice, and numerous large Congregational churches of sun-dried brick.

Antanànarivo is computed to contain 100,000 inhabitants; Mòjangà, 14,000; Tamatave, 6,000; Fianàrantsòà, the chief Bétsiléo town, about 6,000; Ambòhimànga, the old capital of Imérina, about 5,000. Few other towns have so large a population as the last. The country, as a whole, is comparatively and painfully empty, and is densely peopled in only two or three districts. The Hòva and Bétsiléo used to build their villages on the summits of lofty hills, and encircle them with a concentric series of deep fosses for the sake of safety. Prickly pear or thorny mimosa fences still inclose villages and homesteads in other districts. Sanitation is unknown. Rotting refuse is the cause of fever and other diseases.

Fearing foreign invasion the rulers have purposely refused to improve the means of internal communication. These could not well be worse than they are. There was not, a few years ago, and is not now so far as our information extends, a single road in the modern sense of the word in this vast island. Wheeled vehicles are unknown.

Canoes and porters being the only internal vehicles of commerce, all mercantile operations are conducted with difficulty. Cattle for export are driven to the sea-coast, whence they are taken to Mauritius and other islands. Hydraulic engineering is needed to increase harbor accommodation, and railroads to evoke the amazing resources of the country. Its native

products may be raised in indefinite quantities, and an equally indefinite demand for articles of foreign manufacture may be created. Madagascar has no native coinage. The French five-franc piece, or dollar, is the standard of value. All coins less than these are obtained by cutting them into all shapes and sizes, even to $\frac{1}{16}$ of the original.

The natural facilities for foreign commerce have not hitherto been utilized by the Malagasy. At present there is no harbor south of Tamatave, which for that reason must continue to be the principal port on the east coast. Open roadsteads, exposed to winds and currents, are so dangerous that underwriters refuse to insure vessels having no better protection. Inside the reefs, on which they are so often wrecked, and which have been cast up in the ceaseless conflict between the rivers and the ocean waves, is sufficient accommodation for the navies of the world, provided sufficient inlets were constructed and the engineering schemes of King Radàma executed. Thirty miles of canalization would complete a harbor—now of river and again of lake-like expansion—extending for 200 miles along the coast. French ambition and aggression are to blame for the slow development of trade with Madagascar. The occupation of Majunga, and the bombardment of Tamatave and other places have both retarded it. All attempts to convert the island into a French dependency are flagrantly wicked and doomed to failure.

Before the advent of missionaries, the Malagasy were what the Germans call a nature-people. As heathens, they had neither temples nor stated seasons of devotion; neither priesthood nor any organized religious system or form of worship. The existence of the Supreme Being, called Andriamànitra, "*The Fragrant One*," and Zànahàry, "*The Creator*"—words in vogue all over the island—had always received distinct recognition. Proverbial sayings enforce many of the truths of natural religion, such as the attributes of God. Feticism, or belief in charms as having power to protect from certain evils, and to procure various benefits, was their religion. Four of five of these charms were each called "god" by the Hòva, and were honored as national deities. On all public occasions they were brought out to sanctify the proceedings. Belief in witchcraft, sorcery, divination, lucky and unlucky times and

seasons, ancestor-worship, and ordeals for the detection of crime, characterized the Malagasy. These are still prevalent among the unevangelized tribes. Sacrifices of fowls and sheep are made as thanksgivings and propitiatory offerings. Human sacrifices are sometimes offered in the southern districts. The New Year's festival among the Hôva is almost peculiar to that tribe. At general circumcisions, practiced every few years by royal command, general rejoicing, drunkenness, and licentiousness prevail. Funerals are times of great feasting. Idol-keepers, diviners, day-declarers, and others connected with heathen customs, constitute the nearest approach to a priesthood. Morals correspond to this religion, such as it is. The non-evangelized natives are impure, in some places shamelessly indecent, and in all untruthful and cruel. Yet the position of woman in society—Madagascar having had female sovereigns for nearly half a century—is much higher than in most pagan lands. Infanticide, under the most unfeeling and abominable forms, was formerly the general practice. Death in shocking shapes was inflicted for trifling offenses. Drunkenness was prevalent, and persistent industry very infrequent. For the courage and loyalty of the chiefs, the brief energy of the people, firmness in friendship, kindness to relatives, respect for old age, politeness and courtesy, and hospitality to strangers, the Malagasy, as compared with other pagans, are remarkable. Slavery, as it existed and still exists among them, was seldom either cruel or oppressive.

The multitudinous literature to which we have adverted reveals the causes of religious, moral, political, and commercial changes among this extraordinary people. The history of Madagascar presents few features of interest until the first half of the seventeenth century, when the French and English attempted to colonize the island about the same time. For more than a thousand years it had been known to the adventurous Arabs, and for many centuries to the enterprising Indian traders of Cutch and Bombay. Nor is it at all improbable that the Phenician merchants were acquainted with it through their "ships of Tarshish." 1 Kings x, 22. The classical writers mention it under various names. Marco Polo, the celebrated Venetian traveler, first revealed its existence to modern European nations in the thirteenth century. His account of the

ruk, or gigantic bird, indigenous to it, was long ridiculed as a traveler's fable, but within the past few years was seen to have a basis of fact in the now extinct *Aepyornis*. On the 1st of February, 1506, Fernando Soares, while on his way to Portugal in command of the eight spice ships of Francisco de Almeida, caught sight of the east coast of the island. In the same year João Gomez d'Abreu discovered the west coast on the 10th of August, St. Lawrence's Day; from which circumstance it received the designation of San Lorenzo. Tristan da Cunha also visited and made a chart of part of the coast. But the Portuguese had too many possessions in heathen lands to allow of any permanent occupation of Madagascar. From 1595 to 1598 the Dutch had some little intercourse with it, but with no profit to themselves. Nor did the French and English fare much better in subsequent attempts at colonization. Robert Drury, an English lad, who was shipwrecked on the south-west coast in 1702, and afterward detained as a slave for fifteen years, was the first author who gave authentic information about the inhabitants, their customs and superstitions.

Madagascar had always been portioned out by many indigenous tribes until a period about two hundred and thirty years ago, when the Sàkalàva, a small but warlike people, advanced from their home in the south-west, and conquered the western and also some northern and central clans. Founding two kingdoms, they retained supremacy up to the close of the eighteenth century, when the Hòva of Imérina, under the warlike Andrianimpòina, and Radàma, his son, rebelled and established a nominal suzerainty over the Sàkalàva, vanquished the surrounding tribes, and made themselves the virtual masters of the whole island. The Hòva authority is now supreme over the central and eastern provinces, and nominal over much of the western. In the south-west the people are practically independent, and live under their own kings or chieftains.

Radàma I. (1810-28) claimed the sovereignty of the whole country, although controlling only about two thirds of it, by right of conquest. Shrewd, aggressive, and indomitable, he was a Malagasy Peter the Great. Perceiving that education and civilization are essential to national progress, by treaty with the Governor of Mauritius he abolished the exportation of slaves, and received in return a compensative annual grant of

arms, ammunition, and uniforms for his troops. English officers disciplined the latter. Thus assisted, he extended and consolidated his authority, cruelly enough, but with salutary results. Native youths were sent to Mauritius, and others to England, for education and instruction in some of the arts of civilization, and in seamanship. Mr. Hastie, the British agent resident at his court, wielded unusual influence over the monarch, and accomplished much for the material progress of the country.

In 1820 the agents of the London Missionary Society began their labors at the capital, reduced the language to a systematic written form, introduced the art of printing, translated and published the Holy Scriptures and other books, gathered numerous schools, and organized several Christian congregations. They also imparted knowledge of many of the useful arts, discovered valuable natural productions, and taught their preparation and manufacture to the people. The spread of religious and secular knowledge broke the spell of deadly superstition, and the Malagasy awoke to a new and inextinguishable spiritual life. Radâma died at the age of thirty-six. The loss of his keen good sense proved to be an irreparable calamity to his people. Rânavâlona, one of his wives, succeeded to the throne. Superstitious, immoral, despotic, and suspicious, she aimed a terrible blow at Christianity. In 1835 the profession of it was declared to be illegal, all worship was prohibited, and Christian books were ordered to be given up. By the middle of 1836 the last English missionary had left the island. A twenty-five years' persecution followed. The formal charges preferred against the Christians in 1835 were :

1. They despise the idols; 2. They are always praying; 3. They will not swear, but merely affirm; 4. Their women are chaste; 5. They are of one mind with regard to their religion; and, 6. They observe the Sabbath as a sacred day.

These accusations appear to have been strictly true, but they redound to the highest credit of the accused. Like Daniel, no fault could be found with them, except it were concerning the law of their God.

The scenes witnessed in the great African island, during this protracted and bloody persecution, exhibit a striking resemblance to those enacted in different parts of the Roman Empire under the Pagan emperors. The accusations, the cruel

outrages, the judicial murders by the authorities, the calmness, joy, and consistency of martyrs and confessors, all proceeded from the same sources as those of the early Church. This fiery trial culminated in 1849. From two thousand to three thousand Christians were fined, sold into slavery, poisoned, flogged, speared, burned alive, or thrown down the lofty precipice of the Malagasy Tarpeian rock at Antanànarivo. The number of those who were "faithful unto death" has not been accurately ascertained: they were counted by thousands. But their record is on high, and their witness is with God.

The effect of these sanguinary severities on the people was deplorable. Governmental oppression provoked frequent rebellion, distant provinces were desolated by destructive wars, Europeans were excluded from the country, commerce with foreign nations came to an end. Cessation of the latter was due to an ill-judged attack on Tamatave in 1846 by one British and two French ships of war, designed to avenge wrongs inflicted upon foreign traders. But the leaven of Christianity could not be expunged. It was that which preserved Madagascar from utter corruption. To use the words of Tertullian, it was "the red rain that made the harvest grow." Besides the many who were martyred, hundreds were expatriated. These went every-where, "preaching the word." Twenty-five years afterward it was found that the number of professing Christians had increased, despite the persecutions, from twenty to thirty fold.

Intrigue and conspiracy against the queen, in which Madame Ida Pfeiffer and other foreigners were inculpated, recoiled on the plotters, who were punished by exposure to deadly malaria and banishment from the country. In 1861 Rànavàlona died, and Radàma II. ascended the throne. Missionary labors recommenced, foreign trade sprang up again, and the younger, more intelligent, and influential people identified themselves with Christianity. But French intriguers essayed to subject the sovereign by treaty stipulations. This fact, together with the vices and insane follies into which he fell, occasioned his murder in 1863. Queen Rasòhérina, his wife, succeeding him, refused to ratify his agreement with the French, and preferred to pay them one million francs by way of indemnity. Steady advance in education, civilization, and treaty relations with the

French, British, and American governments illustrated her five years' reign. In 1868 Rànavàlona II. assumed the scepter. One of her first acts was the public recognition of Christianity, which had acquired such tremendous momentum that her politic counselors advised her to place herself at its head. The idols were contemptuously ignored; but the Bible "occupied a conspicuous place close to the queen's right hand, while on the canopy over her head there were written in large characters words taken from the angelic hymn: 'Glory to God,' 'Peace on earth,' 'Good-will to men.' A new era had that day been inaugurated. In February, 1869, the queen and her husband, the prime minister, were baptized in presence of a multitude of the chief people of Madagascar; public worship was celebrated in one of the royal houses, and the foundation of the Chapel Royal was laid in the palace yard. In September of the same year all the idols in the central provinces were committed to the flames. The population willingly placed themselves under Christian instruction. Since then the London Missionary Society and the Friends' Foreign Mission Association have been the most forceful agents in effecting wonderful melioration.

With a people like the Malagasy, accustomed to move in crowds, and to follow implicitly any thing which is favored by their rulers, the effects of this government patronage may be easily imagined. The immediate results were an enormous numerical increase in the attendance upon Christian services; every chapel was crowded to excess; new places of worship were hastily erected in every village; the people eagerly came forward to be baptized and to become church members; and every missionary was pressed with work and felt overwhelmed with the responsibility thrown upon him. The number of congregations in the central province of Imérina increased in two years more than tenfold, and the attendants upon public worship in a somewhat less proportion; in fact, almost the whole population of Imérina professed themselves to be Christians.—SIBREE, pp. 252, 253.

Many of these eager converts were undoubtedly the subjects of regenerating grace, but more were actuated by motives of courtliness and policy. With equal readiness they would have professed Roman Catholicism or Mohammedanism had their rulers set the example. The missionaries of the Friends and of the London Missionary Society, working together in loving

concert, grouped the rural congregations into districts, introduced judicious discipline, and devoted themselves to instruction and pastoral supervision: The improvement of their flocks became markedly manifest. A dirty hemp or *rofia lamba* constitutes all the clothing for which an ordinary heathen Malagasy has any desire. But among the Christians "every woman must have her neat jacket and skirt of print or other stuff, and the men their shirts and pantaloons, as well as the flowing outer dress, or *lamba* (common to both sexes), of European calico." This fact indicates the intimate relation that Christianity sustains to manufactures and commerce. Consular returns prove that every missionary is worth \$50,000 annually to European and American trade. In Madagascar his commercial value is rapidly rising, and in 1880 represented from \$10,000 to \$15,000 per annum of foreign imports.

The erection of the Martyr Memorial Churches (1864-1874) greatly stimulated the building art. Instead of being crowded into the single room of a wood or rush house, a Malagasy family now has in many cases two or three separate sleeping places. Further progress is undoubtedly desirable, but not more so than in the domicile of the British laborer, or in the New York tenement-house. Chastity and purity are held in increasingly high estimation. Polygamy is at an end in *Imérina*, and divorce is becoming infrequent. The sanctity of the marriage tie is appreciated, and Church censure of those who fail to respect it raises it ever higher in popular estimation. The observance of the Sabbath is secured by making it a legal day of rest. All public work is forbidden by the government; all markets are closed, public worship is encouraged by example, and public business is not transacted with unfaithful representatives of Christian powers. In all these particulars the new-born Christian nation is an example to those whose profession antedates its own by many centuries. Nor is it less so in relation to the vice of intemperance. Very stringent laws against the manufacture in or importation of ardent spirits into the central province are rigidly enforced. Inability alone prevents similar enforcement on the eastern coast, where English and French traders debauch and destroy the poor natives by yearly pouring upon it thousands of gallons of rum. "Civilization without religion," as Mr. Sibree remarks, "means

rum, rifles, and the vices of the Europeans." Religion—the religion of Christ—is alone the creator and conservative force of true civilization.

Cruel punishments for political and other offenses have fallen into disuse. So thoroughly has the kind and merciful spirit of the Gospel infused itself into the *Hova* that in the last expedition against the *Sakalava*, in 1873, one of the divisions of the army returned without firing a shot, or taking a single life. Yet it thoroughly accomplished its mission. More than that, it conciliated the rebels by furnishing the best possible market for the sale of their produce, and by proclaiming to them, at the Lord's day worship held morning and evening in the camp, the glad tidings of salvation. "What is this religion which leads the *Imérina* people not to enslave us any more and take us away by force?" inquired the *Sakalava*; and they were answered, "Because Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Redeemer of men, has given the Gospel to teach mankind to show mercy." The military expedition became a missionary expedition.

Too much is often anticipated from a lately redeemed people. Ten or ten times ten years are but a brief period in which to eradicate the evils, vices, and cruelties of uncounted centuries. Change is frequently on the surface; the leaven has not penetrated the depths. England once was papal or Protestant by turns, as royalty led the way. Can more be justly expected of Madagascar? It was only when multitudes were made "partakers of the divine nature" that England refused to tread in the footsteps of the Stuarts; and it is only when equal relative numbers of the Malagasy are "joined to the Lord in one spirit" that we may look for sturdy steadfastness and growth. Only one fourth of the Malagasy tribes have been affected hitherto; but from that fourth are radiating influences that will eventually transform the whole.

The College at Antananarivo, first called the London Missionary Society Theological Institution, was commenced in April, 1869, and was intended to meet a sorely felt necessity. The native Church then contained more than 200 pastors and 1,800 lay preachers. To these most of the preaching was perforce committed. That preaching was of the best quality at their command, but the best was very poor. In 1876 the usefulness

of the institution was extended by opening its doors to lay as well as ministerial students. The length of the course is four years for candidates for the ministry and three for seculars.

The subjects of study for all alike are grammar, geography (general and physical), arithmetic, algebra, Euclid, logic, simple lessons in mental and moral philosophy, the English language, and Old and New Testament history. Besides these more general subjects, the candidates for the ministry are taught historical, dogmatic, and exegetical theology, Church history, and homiletics; whilst the secular students study ancient and modern history, and the elements of physical science, besides paying more attention to the English language. . . . An annual meeting of missionaries, old students, and students still in the college pleasantly ends the year. ("Ten Years in Madagascar.")

More than 100 students have been trained and sent out into the ministry, and many others have been called to the incumbency of posts under the government. Carefully educated native teachers have become assistants in the work of instruction.

The queen and prime minister have sympathized most heartily with these efforts to enlighten and instruct the people, and have done all in their power to insist upon the necessity for education. The result has been an increase in the number of schools from 359 at the end of 1870 to 862 ten years after, in which 43,904 children are receiving a good elementary education. And there are now upward of 26,000 adults able to read. ("Report of the London Missionary Society," 1881.)

Mr. Shaw now (1885) writes :

From a schedule issued by the government, we find that after the completed registration there are 1,167 schools and 150,906 scholars, divided among the various societies thus :

	Schools.	Scholars.
London Missionary Society and Friends' Foreign Missionary Association.	818	105,516
Norwegian Missionary Society.	117	27,909
French Jesuit Mission.	191	14,960
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.	41	2,521

Not less than 1,500,000 copies of publications of various kinds had been issued from the printing-press in the decade prior to 1881. But the arrival in February, 1874, of the Bible in the Malagasy language, supplied by the British and Foreign Bible Society at the low price of one shilling (or twenty-four cents) per copy, was the great event in the literary history of the country. The anxiety to obtain it was fully equal to that

of the American people to secure copies of the Revised Version of the New Testament from importers in New York a few years ago.

The news was announced in the numerous chapels throughout the country, and was received with great delight. For several weeks a large portion of the missionaries' time was occupied in selling Bibles. Some of the people came many miles with their shilling, in order to purchase a *Baiboly tapitra* (complete Bible). An edition of 20,000 of these shilling Bibles has been all but exhausted within the last six years. ("Ten Years in Madagascar.")

The statistics of the Malagasy Christians in ecclesiastical connection with the London Missionary Society (including four missionaries of the Friends' Association) in 1882, give the following totals: English missionaries, 28 (now 29); native ordained ministers, 64; native preachers, 4,134; church members, 71,585; native adherents, 244,197 (over 300,000 in 1885); schools, 862; scholars, 43,968; fees and local contributions, about \$20,000. ("Report of London Missionary Society," 1882.)

These are exceedingly gratifying facts; and, notwithstanding the superficial character of much of the work indicated, still point out most marvelous results of evangelical enterprise. The dissenting Churches of Great Britain and Ireland have hitherto had the Christian good sense not to interfere with the Congregationalists in their blessed operations. The Friends work in unison with them. The same cannot be said of the Episcopalians. The "Church Missionary Society" wisely withdrew from the island in order to avoid confusion; but, in marked contrast to their discretion, the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" sent a missionary-bishop to Antananarivo, and is doing its utmost to disturb the minds of the people by settling down in the very districts most thoroughly worked by the agents of the London Missionary Society. Bishop K. Kestrel-Cornish, in his report for the year 1881, complains of the opposition of those upon whose foundation he was endeavoring to raise his own superstructure. He reports the erection of three churches and three schools at the capital, and of a college at Ambatoharanana, in which a number of boys, some of whom were of high rank, were being very carefully educated. He hopes "eventually to bring the native Church of Madagascar to the condition of a pure branch of the

Church Catholic." Twelve clergymen, including himself, and forty-five foreign and native teachers, were then toiling toward this end.

Their claim to the title of the "Church Catholic" is zealously disputed by the Jesuit missionaries, who, in Madagascar as in the South Seas, have won unenviable notoriety as the bitterest adversaries of evangelical Christianity. With persistent energy, worthy of a better cause, and by bribery and other unfair means, they have striven and still strive to injure the work of the Protestants, extend their own influence, and make themselves the masters of Madagascar. Not content with buying the influence of chief men, they also descend to small bribery of the children, lying misrepresentations, hypocritical promises, and interference in the temporary dissensions of the Churches. The world is large enough for all Christian missionaries, if, instead of grasping at territory already occupied, the representatives of the "Catholic Church" and "Roman Catholic Church" would spread out into the heathen regions beyond.

The Norwegian Lutheran missionaries, who entered Madagascar in 1866, under arrangement with their British predecessors, chose the province of Bétsiléo, in which they found willing hearers. In 1870 Lars Dahle, the present superintendent of the mission, established a school for women and girls, and a training school for catechists, in connection with the central representative station at the capital. In 1874 their Church of the Cloven Rock at the same place was dedicated in presence of seventeen Norwegian missionaries laboring in Madagascar. Schools and orphanages multiplied, a mission press was provided, and a seminary for teachers was opened at Masinandreina in 1878. In 1883, out of 35,000 registered scholars, 30,000 were regular attendants. A second training school for teachers was then organized, and more than 500 teachers competent to give instruction in special branches introduced. The medical practice of the mission at Antananarivo has been exceedingly successful. In two years Dr. Guldberg treated 14,000 patients, and performed many operations. In 1875 a mission among the Sakaláva on the west coast, with its principal station at Morondava, was begun. Last year it returned 34 Sakaláva Christians, 60 pupils in the schools, and

claimed credit for having put an end to the local slave-trade. In 1884 the central mission reported 4,861 members, 1,377 catechumens, and 38,000 members of congregations, distributed over 16 stations, in which are 211 houses of worship.

The government of Madagascar is theoretically despotic, but practically limited. Public opinion has gathered force commensurate with the growth of Christianity. New laws receive the united consent of the large *kabarys*, or popular assemblies, through the headmen of the different divisions of native society. This is a revival of the custom in use before the disciplined army of Radâma I. changed the limited monarchy into a despotism. Small garrisons of Hôva troops aid the governors appointed by the queen to uphold her authority in the central and eastern provinces, and also at most of the ports. Much of former dignity and power are left to the chiefs, and are conditioned on the performance of a specified amount of government service, and acknowledgment of the Hôva sovereignty. The prime minister is the husband of her majesty, Rânâvalona III., as he was of her predecessor, and is virtually the king. Cultured ability and rare sagacity fit him for the office of principal adviser and administrator. To him is attributable the introduction of measures to modify the government, to improve the administration by weakening the oppressive feudal system, to remodel the army, appoint local magistrates and registrars, encourage education, and form a responsible ministry, with departments of justice, war, education, agriculture, commerce, and revenue. Such legislation is necessarily in advance of the conservative habits of the people. Formerly military service was demanded only of certain classes, and that for life, and without pay. Now it is compulsory on all, but for brief periods only. The Hôva army is computed at from 30,000 to 40,000 men, under officers whose military rank is graduated by the number of honors—from two to sixteen. English titles of military office are also used.

Justice hitherto has been administered by unpaid judges, appointed by the sovereign, and sitting in the open air. Crimes against the person are rare; against property—especially cattle-stealing raids among distant tribes—frequent. Revenue is derived from customs duties, first-fruits, fines, confiscations, money-offerings, called *hâsina*, to the queen and

her representatives, and levies upon the people for state necessities. Unpaid labor of all classes for all kinds of public work is also required by the government. English, French, and American consuls are accredited to the Malagasy sovereign, who has a consul in Great Britain and a consular agent in Mauritius.

The chief obstacle to the development and greatness of Madagascar is the hostility of the French. The understanding between their government and that of Great Britain, effected by Lord Clarendon, that each should respect the independence of the island, has not been observed by them. The Jesuits—those busy agents of mischief every-where—instigated France to refuse proffered indemnity for alleged losses of her citizens, and to demand submission to French protectorate, and governance by French officers. Prompt but courteous refusal was answered by the bombardment of Tamatave and other ports in June, 1883. For the injury that British subjects suffered thereby France was subsequently obliged to apologize and pay. The Jesuit missionaries and other French subjects were ordered to leave Antananarivo, allowed five days for the disposal or removal of their effects, and provided with sustenance and transportation to the French lines. This magnanimity was in striking contrast with the ruthless violence of the French, who drove the Hôva out of Tamatave at an hour's warning, and then seized all their goods.

Every effort that Christian good sense could devise had previously been made to come to an amicable understanding with the French Republic. In 1882 Queen Rânavâlona II. sent ambassadors of the highest rank to the governments of France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States of America to protest against the proceedings of the French officers, and to ask for treaties with and protection from French aggression. In this they were largely successful. The treaty with the United States was ratified in March, 1883. By its terms the Hôva is recognized as the only *de facto* organized government upon the island. Provision is made for the protection of our commerce there and of the rights of the Malagasy here.

On the 13th of July, 1883, Queen Rânavâlona II. died in the faith and hope of the Gospel, and was immediately succeeded by Rânavâlona III., an equally excellent Christian lady. The

prime minister conducted public affairs until the following November, when the new queen, niece to her predecessor, was crowned. Espousing her, he still governs under her name. Former promise of the national future is not only undimmed, but shines with increasing luster. The extinction of all forms of slavery, the establishment of a regular parliament, and the consolidation of all the tribes in one Christian nationality, are included in the near prospect. The French aggressors, under Admiral Miot, make little or no progress. Re-enforcements are loudly called for. The sacrifice of life and treasure, without any compensation in glory or material results, condemns the invasion in the minds of the French people. The moral convictions of modern civilization are arrayed against it. Madagascar is, and of right ought to be, wholly independent. Black but comely, rejoicing in the light, instinct with Christian forces, and clothing herself with the brightest vesture of modern civilization, she is a welcome addition to the sisterhood of nations.

ART. IV.—THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE;

OR, THE STORY OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE.

The Fall of Constantinople. Being the Story of the Fourth Crusade. By EDWIN PEARS, LL.B. Pp. 422. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1886.

THE continued interest manifested by the whole civilized world in the so-called Eastern Question always insures a fair proportion of readers to any book bearing more or less directly upon that subject and having any thing new to say. To the average reader the term Eastern Question calls up simply the Turk and the Russian, and goes no farther back into history than the Crimean War of thirty years ago. There are those, however, who realize that to thoroughly understand the Eastern Question one must go back in the history of the coveted capital of the East, even to a period of at least five centuries before that calamity by which that fair capital fell into the hands of its present rulers.

Such students of history understand that it is not a question alone of "the sick man" of the East. It has a wider scope

and range than even Ottoman imbecility and Muscovite greed. It is a question of Asia and Europe, a question of cults, of barbarism and civilization, of Moslem sensuality and fanaticism, against Christian purity and philanthropy.

To those who wish to study in its widest range this Eastern Question, the present volume will prove very valuable, inasmuch as it covers a period not so fully treated by any English writer, and brings into a concise form materials which have been widely scattered in many libraries, and in different languages. The author, who is a barrister, and who was formerly editor of the "Law Magazine" of London, secretary of the Social Science Congress, and other kindred organizations, has resided for a number of years in Constantinople, and having been appointed by the British government Lecturer on Ancient Roman Law to the student *attachés* of Her Britannic Majesty's Embassy, has made a very complete study of what are technically termed the capitulations, as well as of the various anomalous legal and illegal usages of modern Constantinople, based upon ancient Roman law as modified by Byzantine cunning and Moslem fanaticism. In his study of Byzantine history he became impressed with the conviction that the destruction of the empire of New Rome was virtually accomplished by the Fourth Crusade, that being the event which caused the introduction of the Turks into Europe. "The Fall of Constantinople," therefore, which he has chosen as the title of his book, refers not to the capture of the city by the Turks in the memorable year 1453, but to that capture by the Latin Crusaders in 1204 through which the final subjugation to the Moslem power was rendered possible. His views upon the political aspect of that conquest of Constantinople, and its bearing upon the Eastern Question of to-day, may be clearly understood from the closing sentences of the preface :

The conquest of Constantinople was the first great blunder committed by the West in dealing with the Eastern Question. That question really means whether Asiatic influences and an Asiatic religion are to be tolerated in Europe. "Europe for the Europeans" might at all times have been its battle-cry. Constantinople had been for centuries the strongest bulwark of defense against Asia. The men of the West had every interest to maintain and strengthen it. Instead of doing so they virtually let loose Asia upon Europe.—Pp. xiii, xiv.

It may at first sight surprise the reader to find that so large a portion—about one half in fact—of the work is taken up with prefatory matter; first we have a full description of the extent of the empire in the twelfth century; then the events which had weakened the empire, such as the attacks by the Seljukian Turks, and attacks from the North, also the internal or dynastic troubles, as well as the attacks from the West by the Normans and others. It will be found, however, that this first half of the book, although rather a long introduction, is nevertheless quite necessary to a thorough understanding of the subject by the general reader. Just as the student is wholly unprepared to comprehend the fall of Constantinople into Moslem hands in 1453 unless he be acquainted with the facts of its fall in 1204, so to comprehend that calamity in all its bearings due attention must be paid to the previous adverse influences which made such a conquest possible.

Our author goes back, indeed, to the period of the Basils, the first of whom came to the throne in 867, and he considers the period from 867 to 1057 as the most flourishing period of the empire of the New Rome, during which the empire gave everywhere signs of good government and great prosperity. The organization of the government of the empire was built upon the solid foundations of Roman administration and of Greek municipal government. From the selection of Byzantium as his capital by Constantine down to 1057 the machine of government had worked steadily and well.

There had been security for life and property, and a good administration of law under a system of jurisprudence brought, indeed, from Rome, but developed in Constantinople—a system the most complete which the human mind has ever formulated, a system which has been directly copied or adapted by the whole of modern Europe, and which is the foundation of every body of jurisprudence now in use throughout the civilized world.—P. 4.

This very success, in the author's opinion, brought about centralization, which became the bane of the empire by weakening the spirit of municipal life. In the absence of representative institutions, the only government possible over a widely extended territory was absolutism. The rulers looked unfavorably on the municipalities, and tried in various ways, such as the employment of foreign mercenary troops and foreigners

in various offices of the administration, to become more independent of their own subjects. Absolutism thus gradually undermined the municipal spirit, although it was always kept somewhat in check through fear of the masses in the capital. The position of the emperor, associated as he was in the popular mind with divine authority, was somewhat analogous to that of the czar of to-day in the minds of the Russian peasantry. The difference between that idea and the idea of western Europe concerning the divine right of kings was, that in the latter it was claimed that certain families had been divinely chosen as rulers, and that their right was based upon this choice, while the eastern idea was rather that an inspiration or divine authority was granted them upon their appointment. The ruler was called "the Lord's anointed" by the Greek writers of the twelfth century, but not until after he had been anointed; and the people of Constantinople never lost sight of the fact that they had a right to appoint an emperor when there was a vacancy. The author does not attempt to conceal the fact that he is more favorably inclined to the Greeks than some such distinguished writers as Gibbon, Fallmerayer, and Finlay, who have preceded him. In this he follows, we think, the tendency of modern scholarship to give the Greek people more credit than they have hitherto received at the hands of European writers for the preservation of the language and the nobler qualities of their ancestors, as well as the tenets of the Christian faith.

European scholars are beginning to appreciate the fact that the language of Greece to-day is Greek, and the impress of ancient Greece is plainly visible upon the national types to be found among the Greeks of to-day.*

Fallmerayer says :

In Christian Greece it was not, as in the West, that the spiritual power became *worldly*, but the *worldly* power became *spiritual*. Greece became one vast cloister, and herein lies the secret of the triumph of the crescent over oriental Christendom. The Greek had, in the cultivation of the religious idea, entirely lost the art of war, so that when the brutal Turk, with drawn sword, claimed the heritage of the Palæologi and the Comneni, he found only trembling cowards hoping for some miraculous deliverance. Such was the change wrought in the lapse of time, that the

* Tuckerman's "Greeks of To-day;" Jebb's "Greek Literature."

descendants of those men who at Plataea and Salamis had fought for the freedom of the human race came to think themselves contaminated by the touch of weapons of war, and betook themselves to church ceremonies in order to defend their fatherland against the barbarians.*

Finlay, in his monumental work, says :

Nothing could tend more to give us a correct idea of the real position of the Greek nation at the commencement of the eighth century than a view of the moral condition of the lower orders of the people, but unfortunately all materials, even for a cursory inquiry into this subject, are wanting. The few casual notices which can be gleaned from the Lives of the Saints afford the only authentic evidence of popular feeling. It cannot, however, escape notice that even the shock which the Mohammedan conquests gave to the orthodox Church failed to recall its ministers back to the pure principles of the Christian religion. They continued their old practice of confounding the intellects of their congregations by propagating a belief in false miracles and by discussing the unintelligible distinctions of scholastic theology. From the manner in which religion was treated by the eastern clergy, the people could profit little from the histories of imaginary saints and understand nothing of the doctrines which they were instructed to consider as the essence of their religion. The consequence was, that they began to fall back upon the idle traditions of their ancestors, and to blend the last recollections of paganism with new superstitions derived from a perverted application of the consolations of Christianity.†

To this picture may, perhaps, be added another quotation from Finlay :

The Byzantine Greeks always rejected the idea of progress ; the Papal Church gave a progressive impulse to the Christian mind which it did not think of arresting until a century or two later. The Greeks prided themselves on their conservative, or, as they called it, their Roman, spirit. By clinging superstitiously to antiquated formulas they rejected the means of repairing a ruinous political fabric, and refused to better their condition by entering on paths of reform indicated by the western nations, who were already emerging from their social degradation. While the rest of Europe was actively striving to attain a happier future, the Greeks were gazing backward on what they considered a more glorious past. This habit of appropriating to themselves the vanished glories of the Roman Empire, or of ancient Greece, created a feeling of self-sufficiency which repudiated reform in the latter days of the Byzantine Empire, and which has ever since

* Fallmerayer, "Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt."

† Finlay's "History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time. B. C. 146 to A. D. 1864." 7 vols. Oxford. Vol. i, p. 423.

retarded the progress of the modern Greeks in the career of European civilization.*

The Fourth Crusade took place under the reign of Alexius, brother of Isaac Angelos. Its story is narrated in detail by Nicetas Choniates, who speaks of it as an eye-witness, and whose work is to be considered, perhaps, the most trustworthy of all the historic sources on this subject. It is the Third Book of Nicetas ("De Alex. Comm.," § 8) which treats especially of these facts.

For the narrative of the period immediately preceding the Fourth Crusade perhaps the best original authority is the writer known as William of Tyre, who wrote about 1180. He was a native of Palestine, educated somewhere in Europe, probably in Paris. He himself states that he quitted Syria about the year 1163, in order to pursue his studies. He became afterward an archdeacon, and was tutor to the prince who became King Baldwin IV. He was employed in some important diplomatic affairs, and in 1174 took the title of Archbishop of Tyre. He undertook to write a complete history of Palestine, and, although his work was never completed, breaking off in the twenty-third volume, and cannot be said to be free from error, yet in the vast amount of material employed, and the intimate knowledge of Saracenic life which it displays, it ranks deservedly among the greatest historical works of the age to which it belongs.

The magnificent folio volumes of the collection of oriental and occidental writers upon the Crusades, published in 1875 by the Institute of France,† is of course the great repertory of original authorities upon this prolific subject. Although these same materials have been used to a greater or less extent by Mills in English, by Wilken in German, and by Michaud in French, in their respective histories of the Crusades, and by the smaller popular works of later days, yet the grouping of these facts in the volume before us will be found to be new, and the volume (of 422 pages) will, we doubt not, be welcomed by the critical student as a valuable contribution to the literature of this subject.

The chapter on Christianity and Islam, or rather the one

* Finlay, "History of Greece," vol. iii, p. 280.

† "Recueil des Historiens des Croisades." 1875.

which treats of the weakening of the empire by the attacks of the Seljukian Turks, is well wrought out. It is especially of interest to the Christian reader to note the impression made upon the mind of an experienced jurist, by contact with the highest and most cultivated forms of Mohammedanism, during his residence in the Mohammedan capital. It has come to be the fashion for a certain class of writers to disparage Christianity by writing up Mohammedanism and Buddhism. The ignorance and superstitions, the weaknesses and the vices, of the eastern Christians have been dwelt upon, and even exaggerated, as a means of attack upon Christianity itself. The most unsuspecting reader cannot fail to detect, for example, in Gibbon's most brilliant descriptions, a most bitter animus against the Christian religion. So also Fallmerayer in his "History of the Trebizond Empire" ("Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt") is constantly sneering at the unwarlike character of Christianity, and its consequent inadaptability to be the religion of a brave and successful people, ready to resist tyranny and throw off the yoke of an oppressor.*

In the use of such sad examples as are unfortunately too frequent in the history of the East, even down to the present day, by those who are not in sympathy with Christianity in any form, a certain glamour has been thrown about Mohammedanism which needs to be dispelled. There are those who, under the influence of these modern fallacies concerning the utter and hopeless apostasy of the oriental Christians and the superiority of Mohammedanism over oriental Christianity, allow their sympathies in the struggles still going on in the Turkish Empire to be with the Crescent instead of the Cross, and with the oppressor instead of with the oppressed. To such the deliber-

*"Wer nicht mit Rousseau annimmt stupide Barbarei sey der vollkommenste Zustand der Menschheit oder nicht mit vielen neuen den Grundsatz vertheidigt Heranbildung zur politischen und geistigen Freiheit führe zum Aufstande gegen göttliche und menschliche Autorität; und ascetisch zu werden an Denk und Handels weise sey die letzte Aufgabe der Nationen; der muss eingestehen der schmählische Fall der Griechen sey ein Wink durch welchen der Urheber der Natur die Sterblichen belehren wollte, dass es eine Thorheit sey, mit Vernachlässigung oder Verachtung irdischer Ausrüstungen die Menschen gleichsam zu entsinnlichen, und in die Träumereien einer metaphysischen Glückseligkeit zu versenken ohne dabei die Hoffnung zu verlieren dem Drucke irdischer Uebermacht zur Zeit der Prüfung und Gefahr Widerstand leisten zu können."—FALLMERAYER, *Gesch. des Kais. von Trapezunt, Vorrede.*

ate expression of opinion from one who knows as to the debasing influence of Mohammedanism may not be agreeable, but it is none the less true. The great fact is brought out plainly by him, that in Mohammedanism we have a system claiming to be a religion which is based upon and built up of sensualism. This sensualism is sometimes disguised in euphemistic garb, and given forth by western admirers as the soul ecstasies of the rapt spiritual mystic, while the voluptuous oriental sees through the thin, gauzy covering of polite terminology, and is thrilled thereby with the basest passions of a depraved nature. There are forms of sensuality also which cannot be described, and can only be alluded to by the writer of a work for general circulation. This is what makes the oriental Christian father look with abhorrence upon the association of his son with his Moslem neighbors. The barrier so well known to exist between Moslem and Christian in eastern lands is especially caused by the grosser forms of sensuality existing among the former, and which have in all ages of the Christian Church been regarded by her adherents with horror. There is no doubt but this sensuality, while it gave to a barbarous people their first warlike and progressive impulse, yet in time worked as a poison to eat out the life of the race, causing its physical as well as moral decay.

The modern Turks have diminished in numbers, have been incapable of advancing in civilization, have lost ground and become weaker through their sensuality, and especially through that form of it which is least known where Christianity prevails. The inevitable and invariable history of Moslem races, after the first spurt has been spent which Monotheism had given them, has been the same—decay in family life; spasmodic attempts to bring about a revival of religious and political life; steady but sure decay.—Pp. 22, 23.

W. Gifford Palgrave, a good authority with all those acquainted with his remarkable and eccentric career, says: "Convulsive fanaticism alternating with lethargic torpor—transient vigor followed by long and irremediable decay—such is the general history of Mohammedan governments and races."

Where family life is impossible, where the grosser forms of sensualism are practiced and talked of, and where the sensualistic ideas have so permeated the language of the people that

the common language of vituperation among the common people, even in the case of children and women, is untranslatably vile, the student of history is compelled, upon ethnological grounds alone, to conclude that the race is doomed to extinction. To attempt to place it above the Christian races in social qualities and manly vigor is an insult to the intelligence of the age. The deliberate judgment of the author is this :

I am willing to admit that thousands of Moslems are better than their creed. But, judging such creed historically, looking over the centuries and avoiding individual cases, if the practical rule, "By their fruits shall ye know them," be applied, the conclusion cannot be evaded that Moslemism is a mischievous creed, and, except on its first adoption, is a direct hinderance to progress in a nation.—P. 24.

As to his opinion of the comparison between Islamism and Christianity we make the following quotation :

Weighed in the balance against the lowest and most degrading form of Christianity it is found wanting. No matter how completely even an Abyssinian or Chaldean Christianity has forgotten the body of principles which western Churches have treasured, it has yet never invented a theory by which it becomes degrading for a man to live as an equal with his wife and children. It has never tolerated polygamy, or recognized the sinlessness of concubinage. It has never allowed marriages for a limited time, or an almost unchecked power of divorce and exchange, or allowed the husband to repudiate his wife without any reason being assigned and without warning. It has never made rules as to intercourse with slaves which make the abolition of slavery impossible in Moslem states. Lastly, no form of Christianity, or any other great religious system, has ever offered to its followers a heaven whose enjoyments are purely sensual. The advance made under certain forms of Christianity has been often slow, but the fault cannot fairly be laid to the charge of Christianity itself.—P. 23.

During the darkest period of the last Russo-Turkish war the European friends of Turkey—and they were many in number—who sympathized with her in her misfortunes, were disappointed and mortified by certain police orders which, it was understood, emanated from high authority. These announcements rehearsed the sad reverses which had overtaken the empire whose name had once been a terror to all Europe. The depletion of the imperial treasury, the ruin of the public credit, the revolt of valuable provinces, and the serious reverses to the Ottoman arms, were all alluded to, and then the cause of

all these disasters was gravely alleged to be the shameless conduct of the Turkish women in wearing French high-heeled boots, and in wearing veils of too thin a texture. The degree of fineness which was to be the limit for the texture of the veils was then officially given, expressed in numbers as known to the trade, and the police were directed to remove forcibly, on the public promenades of the capital, any boots of the obnoxious style found on the dainty feet of Mohammedan belles. No more striking proof of the hopeless imbecility of the Ottoman government could probably be found than that supplied by the above incident. It may safely be predicted that no nation whose martial spirit and national energy depend upon the thickness of the women's veils can ever hope to maintain itself among the nations of the earth in the struggle for life. The general effect of such ideas with regard to woman is well described by the author as follows :

Woman has every-where held under the Moslem rule an inferior position, and the inevitable result ensues after a few generations that the whole race has become less moral, less manly, and less intelligent. To regard her as existing for the purposes of pleasure or of propagation, and as necessarily degraded in thought, and therefore requiring to be watched lest she should be unfaithful, is to degrade her, and implies keeping her in ignorance and shutting her off from the education obtained by contact with the world. To degrade generations of mothers is to degrade the race itself.—P. 207.

One of the saddest evidences of moral degeneracy in the Byzantine people in the period under consideration is a certain visible Asiatic taint in their social life from the proximity of those corrupting forces. Women began to be regarded something in the Asiatic way, and, although without polygamy, a kind of harem life was kept up by some of the fast-living nobles. Worst of all, one of the worst institutions of Asiatic social life, that of *eunuchs*, had been introduced. Only five years before the Latin conquest a eunuch had been prefect of Constantinople. It is no secret among residents of that city at the present day that one of the most influential personages of the empire is a Negro, the chief eunuch of the imperial palace, the so-called Keeper of the Gate of Felicity.

With the death of the Emperor Manuel in the year 1180 commenced a series of fierce dynastic disputes and partisan

Wars which, perhaps more than any other cause, weakened the empire and prepared its downfall. Manuel's son, a mere boy, reigned less than three years, and was bowstrung when only fifteen years old. From the accession of his murderer, Andronicus, as his successor, there followed a long and sad succession of dynastic wars, in which the sword of the Turk was employed sometimes upon the one side and sometimes upon the other, but every time for the weakening of the Christian empire and for the strengthening of Islam. The Saladin of Michaud the historian, and of Scott the novelist, with his chivalric qualities which proved him a foeman worthy of the steel of the proudest plumed knight of western chivalry, belonged to this period, and did much for the extension of Islam and the gradual tightening of its hold upon the empire. The expenses of maintaining the struggle with these contending forces were so enormous that the empire was forced to make suicidal exactions from its people to meet these demands until they became insupportable. The imperial treasury was not only drained, but the resources of the people as well. Whole towns and villages became a waste and disappeared from the map, and extensive fertile tracts which formerly supported a large population were allowed to pass out of cultivation. A number of the ancient towns of classic interest in Asia Minor, whose sites are with difficulty identified by the archæologist, disappeared from view, and became lost to geography during this period. It is a noteworthy fact that many of the subjects of the empire voluntarily expatriated themselves, and emigrated from the territories thus burdened with taxation into those where some politic sultan had been shrewd enough to hold out more attractive inducements to cultivators of the soil. The spectacle is indeed a sad one which is presented before the eye of the thoughtful student—the ever increasing stream of Moslem tribes, in spite of all their numerous defeats, sweeping on from the East like an army of locusts, filling up the places of their slaughtered thousands with fresh hordes of recruits drawn together by fanaticism and the hope of plunder, closing in upon the doomed empire, draining its resources, wasting its strength, terrorizing over the people, and demoralizing its leaders.

During the century and a half preceding the Latin conquest of Constantinople, in 1204, constant inroads were being made

also upon the empire by Hungarians, Wallachians, Bulgarians, and Servians, as well as by others who have gone down in the subsequent struggles, and their names have disappeared from the pages of modern history. Probably no other such example can be found in history of a combination of adverse forces against a state as that which was gathering against the New Rome. The empire at one time had shown a remarkable capacity for assimilating the various races which had been flowing into it, and had fairly succeeded in that which is so necessary to the conservation of every great state, namely, the binding together the different elements of the population by a common bond of sympathy and interest; but at this period these heterogeneous and antagonistic elements had come in so rapidly, and in such vast numbers, as to overtask the powers of assimilation, and to clog the machinery of government at a time when every nerve had to be strained in the struggle for life. When in the story, so well told in the book before us, we see in addition to the above difficulties the two broad streams of Asiatic barbarians—one to the north and the other to the south of the Black Sea—flowing in upon Europe, and we behold the Eastern Empire compelled alone to bear the part of a breakwater for western Europe, we realize more fully the position of that empire, and sympathize more readily with it in its struggles against such fearful odds. The author, in reminding the reader of the late example furnished by the war in the Soudan of the fanatical zeal of newly made Mohammedan converts, says:

The hordes of Asia which hurled themselves on the imperial armies of New Rome were filled with the like new-born zeal for their faith, but they had the advantage of an almost boundless reserve of men behind them and the richest spoils of the world open for them to plunder in case of success. As the magnificent German army of the Third Crusade fought and defeated every attack of the Turks between Marmora and Syria with the result only that it had itself melted away by the time it reached its destination, so the imperial armies had again and again, by virtue of their superior discipline, defeated the armies of the same enemy only to find that after a few months another army had come into existence, and that new battles had again to be fought.—P. 177.

The contrast between the results of the struggle in western Europe with the Moslem power and that sustained in the East

with the same power, and the advantages possessed by the former, are well set forth, and the causes of the more speedy victory of the West explained. The victory of Charles Martel at Tours is considered by all the historians to have been the decisive event which saved all western Europe from an overwhelming African Moslem invasion, but the almost contemporaneous defeat of the Arabs before Constantinople our author considers an equally great victory for the cause of civilization. The difference was, that in the West the enemy was so far away from his base of supplies that a crushing defeat was decisive, and ended the struggle, while in the East these victories had to be repeated over and over again, and whole generations of men from the Eastern Empire had to be sacrificed in saving European civilization.

It is of course useless to speculate what might have been if certain of those events which go to make up the web of history had not happened; but in this case the temptation is unusually strong to reconstruct the chart of history as well as the map of the world in accordance with the altered conditions. On the Bosphorus would have remained the capital of an empire which, with its record of twelve centuries of Greek letters and commercial prosperity, of literary and artistic development, at least furnished the nucleus from which might have been expected the regeneration of the regions beyond. That imperial city which had "bridged over the dark centuries of turmoil" which intervened between the pagan civilizations and those of Christianity, and which had been simply "continuing history" while the nations of the West had been passing through their formative and embryonic stage, might have become an important factor in those grand reforms which have occupied the pens and tongues of patriots and philanthopists of the past six centuries. When we remember the quarter whence proceeded so much of that intellectual activity and that independence of religious thought which culminated in the work of Luther and Melancthon, we cannot help thinking of the still greater result which might have been reached had that empire been permitted to stand. As the author says:

We who have seen an Italy resurgent, and Greece and Bulgaria re-entered among civilized nations, may well refuse to believe that an intelligent people who were at that time the first

in civilization would not have shaken off their religious and political apathy, would not have had recovered the strength which they had expended in resisting external attacks, and would not have had their reformation in religion and their democratic revolution in politics.—P. 225.

To the critical student, perhaps, the greatest service rendered by the learned author of the work before us is, the excellent analysis given by him of a deeply interesting historical problem which is still occupying the attention of European scholars, and upon which considerable light has been thrown by the recent investigations of Count Riant, Charles Hopf, and others given in communications made to various learned societies.* Many of these materials have never appeared, so far as we know, in an English dress, and the summary of them here given, and worked up with the author's legal acumen and skill, is especially valuable.

The problem involves what may be called "the true inwardness" of the Fourth Crusade, and the trustworthiness of Villehardouin and other official sources of information which have been followed by Gibbon and Finlay, and most writers on the subject down to a period of not more than fifteen or twenty years ago.

The fact being generally accepted, that the original plan of the Crusade was to strike first at Egypt and thence proceed to attack Babylon, or Bagdad, as the most vital point at which to deal a death-blow to the Saracenic power, many explanations have been proposed to account for the disastrous change of plan fraught with such calamities to Christendom. What occult influence turned aside that mighty stream of chivalric warriors rushing with fiery zeal to save the Holy Land and to remove "the shame of Christ," and caused them, instead of attacking the infidel, to attack and ravage the inoffensive Christian town of Zara, whose inhabitants had done them no harm? What spell was thrown over these knightly warriors to make them forget their vows to use their swords against the enemies of the Cross, and for the protection of helpless women and innocent maidens, and lead them into such horrible scenes

* Comte Riant, "Innocent III., Philippe de Souabe, et Boniface." Paris, 1875. Also, "Revue des Questions Historique," and "*Exuvie Sacre Constantinopolitane.*" Geneva, 1867.

of rapine and plunder as characterized the perpetration of the great crime against Christendom which was committed in the capture and sacking of the Christian city of Constantinople? The question involves many nice points in the study of human action and motives, and is all the more interesting to the student from the care taken by interested parties to conceal or suppress the truth. It has been suspected that the fiery preacher Fulk, whose burning eloquence had aroused so many rich men to contribute of their wealth and so many knights to give their swords to the sacred cause, and who died in 1202, not long after he had affixed the cross to the shoulder of Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, as the leader of the Crusaders, if he had chosen to leave to the world a private journal, might have revealed more than any other man could have done of the secret springs of this strange and inconsistent action.

Some have thought that the whole scheme was the product of the covetous mind of Philip of Suabia, with whom Boniface is known to have had an interview soon after his investment of the leadership of the expedition. As shown in the work entitled "*Acts of Innocent III.*,"* Boniface went from Philip's court with an embassy to Rome, asking Pope Innocent III. to espouse the cause of the young Alexis, the claimant to the Byzantine throne, who had made his escape from prison in Constantinople, and had found his way to Sicily, and according to some to Germany to the court of his brother-in-law Philip. This Alexis being the son and heir of Isaac Angelos, who had been deposed, blinded, and kept prisoner in the city of Constantinople, and whose daughter Philip had married, a magnificent opportunity was afforded Philip of advancing the interests of his own house (he was the head of the Ghibellines) in making use of the claims of poor Alexis. It seems, at least, tolerably well established that some time before the expedition started, its leader, Boniface, had promised Philip to aid him in carrying out his little dynastic scheme, in which were mingled visions of imperial power, in which "poor Alexis" bore only a subordinate part.

Boniface was a man well suited to Philip's purpose, being himself of a family six of whose members had contracted marriages with the imperial family of Constantinople. He had family

* "*Gesta Innoc. III.*"

grievances and personal claims which made him cherish any thing but kindly sentiments toward the Eastern Empire, and disposed him to enter heartily into the proposal of Philip.

The most difficult task of all to be accomplished was to bring over Pope Innocent III. to the plan without publicity, which would have proved fatal to success. The Pope's well-known desire for some basis of compromise or reunion between the Eastern Church and the Western was seized upon by the crafty conspirators, and "poor Alexis" had a solemn audience with the Pope and Cardinals. As an inducement for the Pope to aid and support him in obtaining his rights, in which he averred that he had the sympathy of the whole people, he promised to aid in bringing about a union of the Churches. Boniface himself came on to Rome a few days after and repeated the tempting offer, but the grand old Pontiff refused to accept the bribe. Whatever may have been his other defects, in this matter he seems, from the historic evidence here adduced, to have been true to his high office, and to have refused to be a party to the great fraud proposed to be played upon the Christian zeal of Western Europe.

The conspirators, baffled but not discouraged, turned to Venice, and found there in the crafty and unscrupulous "Bride of the Sea" the means of accomplishing their design without the concurrence, and in spite of the protest, of the incorruptible Pontiff. Venice, in entering into the scheme, did so upon her own account, and, as is shown by the author, had already of her own accord betrayed all Christendom most shamefully by making with the Sultan of Egypt, in July, 1202, a secret treaty by which she had bound herself to divert the expedition from its intended attack upon Egypt in consideration of certain valuable concessions and advantages of trade over her other Italian rivals. Having begun to make her own selfish use of the advantage which her maritime position afforded her for the transportation of the Crusaders, and having them at her mercy, she was ready to enter upon any filibustering scheme which would promise a good share of plunder. The veteran Doge Dandolo was therefore put forward as the representative of Venice in the unhallowed copartnership, to look after the interests of the Republic, and at the same time to advance some of his own personal interests, and to avenge some of his own private

wrongs suffered at the hands of the Byzantine Greeks, which injuries, whether they were physical, such as the blinding of his eyes by order of the Emperor Manuel, as claimed by some, or were simply political and personal insults, at any rate had filled him with an implacable hatred against the Eastern Empire. The white-haired and almost, if not quite, blind old Henry Dandolo coming before the high altar in the great cathedral of St. Mark, being invested with the insignia of the Cross, and assuming the vows of a Crusader, becoming not only the leader of the Venetian contingent, but, by virtue of his venerable mien and his transcendent genius, the head and brain of this vast army to lead it at his will to the accomplishment of his own selfish aims, is one of the saddest spectacles of perverted genius afforded in history. The author, in speaking of the conduct of Venice, says :

Enough might have been gathered from a careful search of the authorities known to exist even in the time of Gibbon to raise a strong presumption against the good faith of Dandolo, Boniface, and Philip of Suabia. But it has been reserved to our own time to complete the evidence against them : to prove, almost to demonstration, that the expedition was diverted from its purpose through the cupidity and treason of Venice, and that from this cause the army was converted into a band of robbers, who were to commit the great crime of the Middle Ages by the destruction of the citadel against which the hitherto irresistible wave of Moslem invasion had beaten and had been broken.—P. 268.

The parts performed respectively by Philip of Suabia, by Boniface the Marquis of Montferrat, and by Henry Dandolo, doge and representative of Venice, in this conspiracy are set forth with clearness and with convincing proofs. The reader is led on from step to step in the investigation, and there is very graphically portrayed before him the attack upon Zara, the council of barons and chiefs held there, their grumbling and discontent on finding themselves led into fighting against the Christian enemies of their Venetian allies instead of against the common enemy of Christendom ; the illusive promises by which these murmurings were quieted ; the gradual unfolding of the plot while at Corfu, and the appearance of "poor Alexis" in the camp of the Crusaders as "the rightful heir" whom they were called upon in the name of justice to put in possession of his rights, and the process of working over the

consciences of the leaders by the intimations of the imperial recompense naturally to be expected for such services, until at length the Holy Land appears so far away, and the imperial city with its palaces and treasures is so near at hand, that the postponement of the Palestine campaign until another season is at length accepted, and their cross-bearing zeal melts away at the sight of material treasures so close to them.

In 1878, when the victorious Russians had fought their way through from the Danube across the Balkans to the Marmora, and halted at San Stefano, on the shore of the Marmora, and gazed upon the glittering domes and graceful minarets not more than a dozen miles away, doubtless many a Cossack wondered why they should stop out there and not be permitted to enter the coveted city, save as peaceful visitors under the strictest orders of good conduct, after a treaty of peace had been signed. They would have said that the treaty should have been signed in the great mosque of St. Sophia, followed by a grand *Te Deum* and the solemn reconsecration of that noble temple to be forever after used as a Christian church. Had a popular vote of the army been taken such would have undoubtedly been the decision. But the leaders of that army knew that the solemn word of the czar had been pledged that no hostile entrance of Constantinople should be attempted. They knew, also, that this word was backed up by England's iron-clad fleet and Germany's mighty army, and that although the prize could be grasped it could never be held. The crusading hosts from the same spot viewed the same prize in the full possession of many beauties of which she has since been robbed. They had no reckoning with their neighbors to fear. The prize was so lovely that really we cannot wonder that the temptation was too strong for men like Dandolo, Boniface, and Philip, and the men who surrounded them.

The subsequent story of that eventful year, from the arrival of the fleet on the eve of St. John the Baptist, June 23, 1203—a year so fraught with results in Christian history—is well told, and the stirring events set forth in their order with sufficient fullness of detail, yet concisely and attractively. The arrival of the fleet at San Stefano, on the Marmora—the preparations of the city for defense—the attacks and repulses—the ignominious flight of the Emperor Alexis—the baffling of the

plans of the Crusaders by the restoration of Isaac Angelos, father of young Alexis, to the throne—negotiations with the Crusaders as to the payments promised by the young man—the discontent of the Greeks with the young Alexis, their new emperor—his dethronement and the elevation of Murtzouphlos to the throne—the siege of the city, the murder of the young Alexis, and the flight of Murtzouphlos, the storming of the citadel, and the capture of the city with its scenes of horror and brutality, and, finally, the seating of Baldwin, the Count of Flanders, upon the throne of the Cesars—follow like the scenes of a panorama, and are all comprised in the story of that one eventful year.

Such are the facilities of modern travel, and the consequent multiplication of books of travel, that the topography of Constantinople and its vicinity is pretty nearly as well known to the average English or American reader as is that of Vienna or St. Petersburg, or any other European capital. To those in any degree familiar with the condition of the capital of the Turkish Empire to-day, the chapter on the condition of Constantinople in 1200, and its comparison with the present, will be found deeply interesting. No lover of ancient art can read without a pang the description of the treasures which were still standing at that time, but which have disappeared forever, and of which the bronze horses now adorning the Church of St. Mark in Venice serve as most tantalizing samples. Had all the works of art now missing been carried off like those famous horses, and preserved for modern study, one might to a certain extent excuse the spoilers; but the barbaric greed which melted down for the sake of the bronze those masterpieces of statuary excites one's indignant contempt. The colossal Samian Juno, which adorned the Forum of Constantine, Paris presenting the apple to Venus, the colossal Hercules of Lysippus brought from Tarentum to Rome and thence to Constantinople, and many other priceless treasures of ancient skill, were melted down by the barbarians and coined into money for the more ready distribution of the plunder among the soldiery. Their taste in the matter of sacred relics was much more appreciative. Here was something which, unlike the matchless products of ancient genius, could be counterfeited without great risk of detection. It was even claimed

for some kinds of relics that they possessed some miraculous kind of self-multiplying power, or rather, a kind of "leavening" agency, by which from a minute portion of some genuine relic a large mass of similar but modern material might become entirely "leavened," made sacred, and possessed of the same miraculous power as the original fragment. Something analogous to this is found in the East at the present day in the popular superstition among the lower classes concerning the value of antique coins. It is supposed by very many, that the reason why Europeans interest themselves in old coins, and sometimes pay enormous prices for them, is, that these coins possess this "leavening" property, and can thus be used in the process of transmuting the baser metals into silver or gold.

The shrewd Crusaders were not slow in availing themselves of the tremendous power which the possession of coveted relics, whether genuine or spurious, would give them in the countries from which they had come. They well knew that a relic would purchase for them, more readily than gold, absolution for the violation of their most sacred vows. It is quite possible, also, that their credulity was imposed upon by the crafty Orientals, who in this way took their revenge for the plunder of their choicest treasures. This whole subject of relics, genuine and pretended, and their influence upon the Western Church, is one of very great interest to the student of ecclesiastical history; and although its full consideration is beyond the scope of the book which is the subject of this article, yet the student will find in it some valuable suggestions.*

As to the genuineness of sacred relics, every one must admit the possibility of some such objects of veneration having been preserved even down to that period. Objects belonging to an undoubtedly more remote period of antiquity fill our museums and art collections. It is therefore quite possible that certain objects of a durable nature connected with the life history of Christ or of his apostles should have been preserved by the early Christians. It is when the relic mongers, however, talk of the relic of the "sacred tear" or the "drop of blood" or the "thorn from the crown," the "sleeveless garment," or the "girdle," the

* A comparatively recent work quoted freely by the author, "*Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae*," Riant, 1867, will be found to be a complete repertory of curious information upon the subject.

"sponge," the "reed," the "bloody sweat," etc., that we turn away with wonder and disgust from the silly attempt at imposition. It is, indeed, very difficult for us to conceive how the people of Europe, in the thirteenth century, could be persuaded in any way to regard such objects as genuine. We can hardly conceive of any thing more directly calculated to emasculate the intellectual life of a people, and to sap the foundation of all true spiritual life as well, than the forcing upon them, by the sanction of the highest spiritual authority, such palpable absurdities and such gross frauds. The great wrong committed by the Christians of the West against those of the East has been thus terribly avenged upon the Western Church in furnishing them with the material and the opportunity for these "pious frauds," and keeping back for centuries the cause of spiritual reform and progress in Europe. Along with the literary treasures of classic wealth there came from the East to the Western Church this Centaur gift which is still clinging to the Church of Rome, shocking the reason and straining severely the faith of the best men among her adherents.

It is quite probable, as the author suggests, that relic worship never attained such proportions in the Eastern as in the Western Church, and that the eastern spirit was less gross or more spiritual than that of the West, whose people, from the earnestness of their character, were more prone to carry the veneration of relics into a kind of fetich worship than were the easy-going Christians of the East. It has been claimed for the Greeks of classic times, as well as of the times of the apostles, that their idolatry was rather a system of *symbolism* than a worshiping of stone and bronze, "the works of men's hands." It is claimed that the actual worship of statues or images, in the modern sense of the term, was essentially an Asiatic idea, and not the pure Greek idea. There may be something in this, although we are not prepared to admit the full extent of the claim in palliation of Greek idolatry. There is no question, however, that from a Protestant point of view the Greek Church has always had a certain amount of advantage over the Roman Church in the matter of image worship. However unsatisfactory to a western mind may seem the argument for the rigid rule which excludes all *images* but permits of *paintings* being used in churches as aids to devotion, yet it cannot

be denied that this distinction, thus enforced and perpetuated in the usage of the Greek Church, is a standing protest against pagan idolatry, or the substitution in the devotions of the people of the image instead of the object which it represents.* It will be admitted, also, that while the ignorant masses of the eastern Christians have been in the habit of using pictures and relics as talismanic charms, yet the Eastern Church has never been committed quite so positively to the official indorsement of the miraculous virtues attributed to them as the Church of Rome continues to do, even in the light of the present century.

The richest treasures of ancient art and the most venerated relics of Christian antiquity were not sufficient in themselves to satisfy the ambition or satiate the thirst of the victors for power. The Church party kept steadily in view the great scheme of the unification of the Church—the bringing of all Christians into “one fold under one shepherd”—while the secular party had also its own plans for the restoration of the great Roman Empire. As might have been expected from the individual characters of the different participators in the great plot by which the fair eastern capital was given over to plunder, dissensions very soon arose over the distribution of the rich spoils. Rival factions were, however, sufficiently appeased and opposing interests blended as to agree upon the final grand prize of all, that of the sovereignty. The Earl Baldwin of Flanders was elected Emperor on the 9th of May, by the midnight conclave of the twelve electors (six Venetian nobles and six ecclesiastics chosen by the Crusaders), and his election was by vote made unanimous. On the 16th of the same month, which was Sunday, took place the magnificent coronation ceremony. The emperor elect, according to the ancient custom, was raised up on a shield supported on the shoulders of the nobles, and conducted in solemn procession to the great Church of Saint Sophia, and there invested with the cloth of gold and

* Archbishop Platon, Metropolitan of Moscow, in his “*Pravoslavnoye Uchenye*” (Orthodox Doctrine), in commenting upon the second commandment (I quote from memory), says, that they sin against this commandment who in any way make the picture the object of devotion instead of the being whom the picture represents; and they also sin against this commandment who venerate more highly a picture executed by some skillful artist than one less skillfully executed; that it is the object thus brought before the mind to which the devotion should be paid, not the picture nor the artist nor art itself as shown in some masterpiece.

with the imperial sword. The imperial crown was placed upon his head by the papal legate, and the customary *ἄξιός! ἄξιός!*—"He is worthy!"—which is still perpetuated in the installation ceremonies of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople—was repeated by the bishops and taken up by the multitude until the air resounded with the cry. Thus was Baldwin of Flanders crowned, and a Frank emperor seated upon the throne of Constantine. The concluding part of the story, as told by our author, consists mainly of a discussion of the effect produced in Europe by the news of the capture of Constantinople and the overthrow of the Eastern Empire by the Crusaders. The student is especially interested in the discussion of the attitude of Pope Innocent with respect to these events, because Innocent's relation to them has been the subject of no little difference of opinion among historians. The controversy over Innocent's part in the transactions which resulted in the capture of Constantinople is still going on, but much information bearing upon the subject has been brought out during the last fifteen or twenty years by continental writers, and the same is here ably summarized and made available for the reader who may desire to form his own judgments.

There seems to be no room for doubt that the attack by the Crusaders upon Zara, in aid of the Venetians, had been directly contrary to the Pope's instructions. His absolution for the crime of attacking a Christian city in violation of their vows had been granted them under the most solemn stipulations that no other such attack was to be made by them upon any Christian nation; and it was stated that this absolution would be rendered void if those receiving it were guilty of any further violations of this condition.

In the present days of rapid transit, not to speak of telegraphs and telephones, it is hard for us to realize the difficulties of communication which prevented the news of important events in Constantinople reaching Rome until months after their occurrence. The old Roman system of couriers had passed away, and a letter started from Constantinople for Rome had to be carried through by the same hand, and so had very many chances against its ever reaching its destination. An instance of this is related in the case of the letter addressed by the newly crowned Emperor Baldwin to the Pope.

The letter was conveyed by a messenger and accompanied by some very valuable presents, such as crosses, holy relics, chalices, priestly robes, etc., adorned with pearls and precious stones. The ship conveying the messenger and the presents was captured by the Genoese, who were the great rivals of the Venetians. After a long delay the messenger was released to go on with the letter which was at length received by the Pope, but the presents were quietly appropriated by the captors, and it was only by threatening the extreme pontifical displeasure in the form of the much-dreaded "Interdict" that the Genoese government were frightened into yielding to the Pope's summons and restoring the stolen property. There is no doubt that if better facilities for communication had existed Innocent would have prevented the Crusaders from carrying out their plan. He seems to have sincerely grieved over the failure of the great expedition as a Crusade, and to have been filled with indignation at the disgrace which had been brought upon the Christian name by the iniquities perpetrated by Christian armies in the sack and pillage of the capital of Christendom. The letter written by him under these circumstances concerning the conquest of Constantinople is referred to by our author as a work which "will ever remain as a monument of just scorn and the lofty statesmanship of the greatest man of his time." This remarkable letter is a masterpiece of pungent rebuke. We give here some extracts from it:

Since, in your obedience to the Crucified One, you took upon yourselves the vow to deliver the Holy Land from the power of the pagans, and since you were forbidden under pain of excommunication to attack any Christian land, or to do damage to it, unless its inhabitants opposed your passage or refused you what was necessary (and in such a case you were to undertake nothing against the will of the legate), and since you had neither right nor pretense of right over Greece, you have slighted your vow; you have not drawn your sword against Saracens, but against Christians; you have not conquered Jerusalem, but Constantinople; you have preferred earthly to heavenly riches. But that which weighs more heavily upon you than all this is, that you have spared nothing that is sacred, neither age nor sex; you have given yourselves up to prostitution, to adultery, and to debauchery in the face of all the world. You have glutted your guilty passions not only on married women or widows, but upon women and virgins dedicated to the Saviour; you have not been content with the imperial treasures and the goods of rich

and poor, but you have seized even the wealth of the Church and what belongs to it; you have pillaged the silver tables of the altars; you have broken into the sacristies, stolen the crosses, the images, the relics, in such a fashion that the Greek Church, although borne down by persecution, refuses obedience to the Apostolical See, because it sees in the Latins only treason and the works of darkness, and loaths them like dogs.—P. 391.

Although there are some passages in the correspondence of Innocent indicating that he regarded the misfortunes fallen upon the Eastern Empire as a retribution at the hand of Providence for its heresy and schism, yet the whole tenor of it shows that he felt very keenly the failure of his own great scheme, which was by means of the Fourth Crusade to strike a fatal blow at the Moslem power. So he writes to the Cardinal Peter, who had absolved the Crusaders from their vow:

When the Crusaders, after having consecrated themselves to the Saviour have abandoned their route, drawn away by earthly attractions, were you free to change so holy and so solemn a vow, and to permit them to take another destination? Think on it yourself. Disappointment, shame, and anxiety weaken us when we ask whether the Greek Church can enter into union with the Apostolic See when that Church has seen only the works of darkness among the Latins.—P. 394.

The truth was, that Innocent saw all his long, careful, and expensive preparations for striking the deadly blow at Islam brought to naught by the selfish schemes of Dandolo, Boniface, and Philip. All of these preparations and all of this expenditure had only resulted in a war upon Christians and in the capture of Constantinople instead of Jerusalem, and the golden opportunity of striking at Islam through Egypt had passed, perhaps, never to return. He saw, also, that with the combinations of intrigue against him he could not hope ever to be able to raise another such an expedition for a holy war. His personal disappointment was therefore very great. The only source of comfort left to him was in the fact that some kind of a union had been effected between the two Churches, although he felt the almost utter hopelessness of reconciling the outraged feelings of the Eastern Church to communion and fellowship with the perpetrators of the great wrong.

In the light of the facts here collated, one cannot agree with Ffoulkes in his accusation against Innocent as having delib-

erately planned, as a crowning act to complete his authority over the whole world, this conquest of Constantinople, "one of the foulest acts ever perpetrated under the garb of religion in Christian times: a sorry connection, unquestionably, for one of his high position and commanding abilities."* Innocent III. was unquestionably one of the most ambitious men ever invested with the pontifical power, and he was one of the most successful of pontiffs in making his power felt and acknowledged, but he was too much of a statesman ever to have sanctioned taking a step so disastrous to the cause which he and the whole of Christendom had so dearly at heart, the rescuing of the Holy Land from the hands of the Moslem. In fact he alone, of all the statesmen of his times, seems to have had a mind broad enough to grasp the situation, and to see the necessity of all Christendom uniting in one supreme effort to avert the threatened danger to Europe from the continued advance of Asiatic Islamism.

It is not within the scope of the book, nor have we space in this article, to follow up the subsequent history of the Latins in their short-lived possession of the eastern capital. As was to be expected, the leaders soon quarreled over the distribution of their ill-gotten gains, and it was not long before the arch-conspirators, Dandolo, Boniface, and Philip, were at work again each upon his own line and in his own individual interest. Within eighteen months after the capture of the city three of the principal actors, and a crowd of those only second to them in rank, were dead, and most of them, as it appears, by violent hands. The new Emperor Baldwin did not long enjoy his imperial dignity. The Bulgarians made a strong combination against him, and were joined by the Greeks—one of the rare instances of Bulgarian and Greek co-operation—and, drawing the emperor into an ambuscade, captured him after killing some three hundred of his knights, and carried him a prisoner to Tirnova, where, according to some, he is said to have died a miserable death. He was succeeded by his brother. The old Doge Dandolo died in 1205. Boniface was caught in the Rhodope Mountains by the Bulgarians and killed. The Crusaders found themselves unequal to the task of governing the country, and so it turned out that instead of the possession of the East-

*Ffoulkes, "Christendom's Divisions," ii, 226.

ern Empire enabling them to act more powerfully against the Saracens, as the apologists for the conquest had argued would be the case, they on the contrary found themselves obliged to appeal piteously to Europe for help in retaining that which they had forcibly seized.

Many of the Crusaders, also, from different places in the East—places which they had wrested from the Saracens and were holding by sheer force—came to Constantinople attracted by the stories of wealth and plunder which had reached them. General laxity of vigilance over those territories was the result. Important strategic points were left ungarded. The Moslem took advantage, and pushing up his line took possession of much Christian territory. After nearly sixty years of strife of factions, confusion, misgovernment, and at times almost anarchy, the Latin Empire of the East came to an inglorious end, and the Byzantine Empire was restored. The injury inflicted by this sixty years was irremediable. Constantinople was no longer the impregnable capital of the East. The Moslem cimeters were gleaming in the sunlight across the plains of Asia Minor, and slowly but surely the Asiatic hordes were pushing their way toward the gates of the doomed city.

The author, in commenting upon the injury thus inflicted upon the Eastern Empire in weakening its power of defense against the common foe of Christendom, makes some excellent points which cannot fail to interest the student of history. He alludes to the fact that the traditional feeling in the West against those of the East has affected more or less all the western historians who have written of this period. It is natural that we, who may be said to be the sons of the Crusaders, should take our ideas and our prejudices from them, and that we should be too ready to find evidence of the corruption and effeminacy of the great eastern capital, and the Asiatic influences which had deprived it of its manly vigor. He thinks that in this way we have failed to estimate at its true value that unceasing struggle carried on during at least a century and a half previous to 1204 by the Greek-speaking people of the Eastern Empire and by the Christians of Armenia and Georgia, fighting so long single-handed and alone what were really the battles of Europe. In the history of those times we have only remembered that the Eastern Church had refused to

accept the supremacy of the Pope; that Constantinople was captured by the Crusaders, and that her degenerate population were unable to prevent their city, in 1453, from falling into the hands of the Turks. These are the facts which we remember; but there are others which we forget. We forget that this gallant resistance of one hundred and fifty years before 1204 was the cause of the Turks being unable to obtain a footing in Europe for a like period after 1204. We forget, also, that notwithstanding the fatal blow received by the Fourth Crusade this Eastern Empire was still able to prolong the struggle for some time alone, and at the same time to pour forth a stream of learning and literature upon the western world. We forget, also, that the time during which she kept back the Turks was valuable time gained for Europe; time during which the Turkish power was weakened and their arrival in Europe delayed, while at the same time Europe was becoming better prepared to grapple with them.

That John Sobieski was able to drive back the Turks who were besieging Vienna in 1683 was really due to the fact that the Eastern Empire had sacrificed itself as the vanguard of Europe.

The results of the Fourth Crusade upon European civilization were altogether disastrous. The light of Greek civilization which Byzantium had kept burning for nearly nine centuries after Constantine had chosen it as his capital was suddenly extinguished. . . . If the dispersion of a few Greeks, members of a conquered and therefore despised race, but yet carrying their precious manuscripts and knowledge among hostile peoples, could produce so important results as followed, what effect might not reasonably have been hoped for if the great crime against which Innocent protested had not been committed? Western Europe saw the sparks of learning dispersed among its people. The light which had been continuously burning in a never-forgotten and, among the literary class, a scarcely changed language, had been put out. The crime of the Fourth Crusade handed over Constantinople and the Balkan peninsula to six centuries of barbarism, and rendered futile the attempts of Innocent and subsequent statesmen to recover Syria and Asia Minor to Christendom and civilization. If we would understand the full significance of the Latin conquest of Constantinople we must try to realize what might now be the civilization of western Europe if the Romania of six centuries ago had not been destroyed. One may picture not only the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and the Marmora surrounded by progressive and civilized nations, but even the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean given back to good government and a religion which is not a barrier to civilization.—P. 412.

ART. V. — AUGUST GLADISCH'S PRE-SOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY.*

ANY one who has from original sources made himself intimate with the pre-Socratic philosophy of the Hellenes, must have observed how little in harmony with historical truth are the statements concerning the same in our text-books on the history of philosophy. Especially is this the fact in reference to the most highly esteemed of them. To point this out, and thereby to break ground for the correction of false statements, is the object of the present discussion. Upon Hegel must rest no small share of the blame for this distortion; and yet to him must be conceded the high merit of having furnished the ground for an apprehension and a treatment of the history of philosophy more completely spiritual than that which up to that time was dominant. Still, from the fact that he transferred his own philosophical methods to the pre-Socratic doctrine, he has by so doing produced a sophistication of it. As Hegel in the development of his system expands from pure, abstract *being*, he conceived very correctly, undoubtedly, that the same had been grasped in perfect clearness and had been presented by Parmenides, the Eleatic. But he glaringly erred in reference to this, in that he caused his remarkable dialectics to stand for the logic of history, and supposed that, as in his hand-book abstract *being* passes over into *nothing*, and then the two unite to form *becoming*, so also after the abstract *being* of Parmenides, *becoming* may have been posited by Heraclitus as the *absolute*. In this he supports himself by an expression, supposed to be Heraclitean, which clearly expresses this unity of *being* and *nothing*: τὸ ὄν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἔστι τοῦ μὴ ὄντος. But Hegel does not say whence he knows that Heraclitus has uttered this. According to Aristotle (Metaphysics, i, 4) it was an expression of the atomists, Leucippus and Democritus; but these were exactly the philosophers that denied *becoming* to that which is determined. These taught that *non-being* [das nichtseiende], the void, *is*, just as much as *being* [das seiende], the full—the atoms. Whereat they permitted the

* Translated from the "Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik" for 1879, vol. 119, No. 99, pp. 721-733.

two to stand separated, the one beside the other, but did not allow them to be united in a third, *becoming*. Consequently *becoming*, which Hegel has elevated to a principle of the philosophy of Heraclitus, has actually no support in tradition, but floats purely in fancy. But it happens still worse for our philosopher in consequence of the transmission of his dialectic into history. He has omitted to anticipate the question and to procure certainty about it, whether the abstract *being* of Parmenides is in fact the earlier, and the *becoming* of Heraclitus the later.

This question is answered in the negative by the most trustworthy tradition; while Parmenides himself, as Bernays (Rhein. Museum, vii, p. 114, *ffl.*) has pointed out, in various verses of his philosophical poems sharply criticises and censures the doctrine of his senior, Heraclitus. So much for Hegel's apprehension of the philosophy of Heraclitus.

Nevertheless Zeller, in his "Philosophy of the Greeks" (i, p. 585, *ffl.*), continues not, in accordance with historical truth, to state the significance of $\pi\upsilon\rho\ \alpha\epsilon\iota\zeta\omega\omega\nu$ (by which is meant the self-intelligible and not the flame), but to declare the metaphysical tenet of the flux of all things (thus he mentions the *becoming* of Hegel) as the principle of the philosophy of the Ephesians. So intimate is he with the soul-life of the philosopher, that he knows that the metaphysical tenet in the soul has been framed along with the fire through the immediate activity of the power of the imagination; and, in fact, the metaphysical tenet should not anticipate (p. 586, Rem. i) in the consciousness of Heraclitus the conception, every thing is fire, but has happened simultaneously with it. Consequently, it is especially worthy of notice that Zeller has plainly posited the metaphysical tenet invented by Hegel, and not the authentic $\pi\upsilon\rho\ \alpha\epsilon\iota\zeta\omega\omega\nu$ (fr. 25 Mullach). Naturally, then, the proof presented by Bernays, and the more extended confirmation of it by A. Schuster, are combated by him (p. 670, *ffl.*) with all his energy.

No less has Hegel given occasion, in the case of Anaxagoras, for the perversion of historical accuracy. That is to say, as he apprehends very incorrectly the doctrine of Anaxagoras concerning $\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$, and ascribes to it the philosopheme of his own system, that thinking or implicit thought is the essence of

things, he permits this by means of his dialectic to pass over into subjective thinking, and the entire crowd of sophists arise and spread their corrupting doctrines throughout Greece and Hellas. According to tradition the sophistic has little connection with Anaxagoras, but under Gorgias, the father of sophistic, it takes root much after the manner of the $\mu\eta\tau\ \delta\upsilon\ \nu$ of Parmenides in the Eleatic philosophy (Plato's *Soph.*, 241^a, and *Arist. Meta.*, v, 2). Except that Protagoras has established his denial of knowledge upon the teaching of Heraclitus, Hegel does not trouble himself about this tradition. In agreement with the Hegelian dialectic, Zeller in this case also connects sophistic immediately with Anaxagoras; unconsciously he himself (on page 937) makes room for this as follows: "We are told by no sophist that he began designedly with the doctrine of Anaxagoras."

Most of the text-books on the history of philosophy follow the example of Zeller. Indeed, in the outline of Ueberweg it is no longer Socrates that has established a new epoch, but the sophists; the pre-Socratic philosophy has become the pre-sophistic, and Socrates stands in the rear of the sophists as second in the line of descent.

Indeed it may come difficult for philosophers like Hegel, who are the founders of a complete spiritual system, in their treatment of the history of philosophy, to maintain the requisite impartiality of statement, and to resist the temptation to drag their own philosopheme into history. In this manner it is explicable how already in ancient times Aristotle, one far greater than our great philosopher, has led the way in the perversion of the historical. By Aristotle (*Metaphysics*, i, 3), we have presented to us the first attempt to grasp the history of philosophy as an orderly development of cognition. In it, entirely in agreement with Hegel, he undertakes to point out his four metaphysical principles in the earlier philosophy. He permits the material principle to make its appearance in the following gradation:—

First, Thales posits *water* as the primitive material out of which all things are made; then, Anaximenes and Diogenes of Apollonia present a more refined conception, *air*; then Heraclitus, that most delicate, *fire*; thereupon Empedocles posits four elements wherein he adds *earth* to those mentioned;

finally, Anaxagoras, who completes the development, innumerable primitive materials.

It does not seem to be known by Aristotle that Thales in any way determined the ground of his conception. Aristotle merely surmised how possibly he might have reached the conception: λαβὼν ἴσως τὴν ἐπόληψιν ἐκ τοῦ πάντων ὑρᾶν τὴν τροφὴν ὑγρὰν οὖσαν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ θερμὸν ἐκ τούτου γιγνόμενον καὶ τούτῳ ζῶν· τὸ δ' ἐξ οὗ γίγνεται, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ πάντων, κ. τ. ε. [probably having taken up the opinion from general observation that food is moist, and that heat is generated by this moisture, and that by it is life; therefore that from which there is *becoming*, is the beginning of all things, etc.]. What Aristotle here expresses as his own personal conjecture is then given by those who followed him as the reflection of Thales himself. The only certain statement that we are acquainted with from the philosophy of Thales is the expression, ἀρχὴ πάντων ὕδωρ, and that which Aristotle has joined to this expression: διὸ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐφ' ὕδατος ἀπεφάνητο εἶναι [because it appeared that the land was on the water]. This brief statement, however, is amply sufficient to gain a correct understanding of his conception. When Thales made use of the expression ἀρχή, in his mind, unquestionably, this had not yet the significance that Aristotle assigned to it, but simply the customary significance, *beginning* [*anfang*]. The philosophical signification was first given to the word by Aristotle in his philosophical terminology. Consequently, then, Cicero ("De Nat. Deorum," i, 10, 25) very correctly has restored the conception of Thales: *aquam dixit esse initium rerum*; that which he added, however, *deum autem eam mentem, quæ ex aqua cuncta fingeret*, is the work of Cicero.

That the conception of Thales had this import, in the beginning every thing was under water, is confirmed through this expression with its accompanying specification. He has said διό [on this account] that the earth floats on the water; but the assumption that water is the primitive essence of all things could not be established from this condition. But it has been well verified, whatever he meant, that it would, when immersed, arise from the water. As evident corroboration of this, there comes at the same time from Aristotle the information that many thought the opinion that made Oceanus and Tethys the

primitive agents in creation was exactly the point of view of Thales, for that Oceanus was the primitive essence of all things no one would be willing to declare as the import of the Homeric verse,

Ὠκεανὸν, ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται.

In short, Thales appears as the most learned of the seven wise men; therefore, he united with much of the practical wisdom of his contemporaries a worthy knowledge of astronomy and physics; but he does not belong in the development of Aristotle. Indeed, he would not belong there were it conclusively proved that he had used the expression *ἀρχή* with its Aristotelian import. What would become of the history of philosophy, if we were willing to grant a place in it to every one who has made such an expression without establishing it?

We turn now to Anaximenes, and to the one associated with him by Aristotle, Diogenes of Apollonia, and also to Heraclitus. Undoubtedly the first two have declared *air*, and Heraclitus has announced *fire*, as the primitive essence of all things. But it is not true that they meant by *air* and *fire* the so-called elements. It is not true that Heraclitus conceived *fire* in contrast with *air* a more delicate conception, and therefore set it forth as a principle. The truth is, rather, that they (searching not for the original material, but for God) conceived the primitive essence to be spiritual. Not yet were they able to grasp it as pure, incorporeal spirit, as did Anaxagoras; but simply to present it as the most delicate ethereal essence, which in its supreme purity has its throne in the lofty apartments of heaven, in the *περίεχον*. It guides the world, and through condensation produces all things, and by rarefaction it brings them again to naught. This is a notion common to the philosophers mentioned, not first of Diogenes of Apollonia and Heraclitus, but also already of Anaximenes, as the following fragment from his writings makes evident (Pseudo-Plutarch de Plac. Phil. i, 3, 6; Stobæus, Ecl. Phys. i, p. 296): *ὅλον ἢ ψυχὴ ἢ ἡμετέρα ἀήρ οὐσα συγκρατεῖ ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὅλον τὸν κόσμον πνεῦμα καὶ ἀήρ περιέχει* [how the soul, as our own vital air, holds us together, and how breath and air surround the entire *cosmos*].

Since Anaximenes identified the primitive essence with the rational soul, he must of necessity already have con-

ceived it as endowed with reason. By his follower, Diogenes of Apollonia, this contrast with Anaxagoras becomes only more vividly conspicuous. Especially does it occur in the fragment assigned by Simplicius to Aristotle (*Physics*, fol. 33^a): καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ τὴν νόησιν ἔχον εἶναι ὁ ἀὴρ καλεόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου πάντα κυβερνᾶσθαι καὶ πάντων κρατεῖν· ἀπὸ γὰρ μοι τούτου δοκεῖ νόος εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀφίχθαι καὶ πάντα διατιθέναι καὶ ἐν παντὶ ἐνεῖναι [that which possesses intelligence I regard as that which men call *air*, and this is that by which every thing is directed, and that which controls all things. Therefore, in consequence of this, I regard mind (*νόος*) as existing, reaching out over the whole creation, positing every thing, permeating every thing]. Also the primitive essence of Heraclitus is nothing else but this περιέχον φρενῆρες [all-embracing master-mind], this throne of the ethereal Zeus (fr. 35), the γνώμη ἣτε διακίζει πάντα διὰ πάντων (fr. 55) [the purpose that manages every thing through all things]. That he designated his primitive essence so plainly intelligent as πῦρ, does not allow of explanation after the significance of the word in the Greek language, but indeed after that in the religion of Zoroaster, in which realm it originated. To make this clear we may interpolate here the following little episode, which, while not germane to our inquiry, has point, and also will aid in attaining a better understanding of the Heraclitean doctrine and its historical position.

The most important and the most accurate record upon the religion of Zoroaster is the *holy chariot*, drawn by eight white Nisæan horses, the chariot which the Persian kings Xerxes and Darius Codomannus brought with them, the former in his campaign against the Hellenes (*Herod.*, vii, 40), the latter in his campaign against Alexander (*Curtius*, iii, 7). The commentary upon this Schliemann has lately unearthed on the site of ancient Troy, which was for a long time under Persian dominion. According to this, in the *holy chariot* was illustrated the doctrine that, in a manner similar to that in which the lower part of the wheel becomes the top, and the upper part the bottom, in the continual change of the advancing wheel, so are all things in the world in a perpetual movement, in a constant evolution. (*Comp. Dion. Chrysost.*, 36, p. 92, *ff.*, ed. Reiske.) Consequently the playing of dice

furnishes a fitting illustration, and the narrative of Diogenes Laertius (ix, 3), therefore, seems to be worthy of attention; according to this Heraclitus played dice (*ἡσπραγάλιζε*) with the boys in the temple of Artemis of Ephesus, and to those of the Ephesians standing about him he said: *τί, ὦ κάκιστοι, θαυμάζετε; ἢ οὐ κρεῖττον τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν πολιτεύεσθαι* [O, worst of men, why do you wonder? Is it not better to do this than to rule among you?] However, the Ephesians conceived flowing water as the best illustration of the perpetual movement of all things; as Plato says (Cratylus, 402^a): *λέγει πον Ἡράκλειτος, ὅτι πάντα χωρεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν μένει, καὶ ποταμοῦ ῥοῇ ἀπεικάζων τὰ ὄντα λέγει, ὡς δις εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίης* [somewhere Heraclitus says that all things flow, and nothing remains. He says also that things that exist are likened to the current of a stream, which is of such character that you cannot bathe twice in the same stream].

Nevertheless, it is very manifest that the Zoroastrian theologians chose, through the chariot or the chariot-wheel, to present the sense-symbol of their religion, because they could present this before the eyes of believers every-where. Among the Trojan antiquities that Schliemann has brought to light, and has presented to us by means of photographic views, there is a large number of symbolic wheels wrought from *terra cotta*. Upon these the swiftness of the perpetual evolution of all things is indicated by the primitive diagram for antelopes, which in the Rig-Veda are the team for the chariot of the hurricane. This swiftness is also symbolized by stags (Nos. 34-36, 245). The eternal fire producing this evolution, which in the procession of Darius Codomannus was represented by the flaming altars drawn in front of the *holy chariot*, is indicated on the Trojan wheels partly in this manner (Nos. 272, 273, 275, 279, 289, 292), partly by two pieces of wood through the friction of which the priests produced the fire before which, as the eternal fire, they offered up their songs of praise (Nos. 237, 284, 291, 361); and partly it is represented by the lightning, or by the lightning accompanied with thunder (Nos. 107, 124, 125, 160, 356). The representation of the eternal fire, with or without the thunder, is especially worthy of attention, because it harmonizes in an evident manner with a fragment from Heraclitus which Hip-

polytus has brought forward (Refut. Hær., ix, 10), where he says: Heraclitus teaches that every thing in the world is produced by fire, λέγων οὕτως "τὰ δὲ πάντα οἰακίζει κεραυνός," τουτέστι κατευθύνει κεραυνὸν τὸ πῦρ λέγων τὸ αἰώνιον [therefore declaring that the thunder-bolt (thunder and lightning) directs all things; that is, that it sets them right; declaring further that the thunder-bolt is that fire which is eternal]. Thus Heraclitus, in the designation of his primitive essence as similar to that of the Zoroastrian religion, appears to have been intimately acquainted with that system.

Although from what has been presented it is clear how little the statement of Aristotle happens to be in harmony with the actual teaching of the philosophers mentioned, yet the contradiction is displayed still more pointedly in the fact that Heraclitus, in his deeper and more acute thought, conceived the transmutation of the primitive essence into things, not after the manner of Anaximenes and Diogenes of Apollonia, as a mere condensation, but as a tearing apart of self from itself. Therefore he mentioned war as the father of all things, and taught πάντα κατ' ἔριν γίνεσθαι (fr. 37, 39). And such a primitive essence is set forth as the mere element *fire*!

With the two philosophers whom Aristotle permits to follow Heraclitus it fares no better. For it is not true that Empedocles regarded the four elements in their separation as the original beginning, as Aristotle sets forth; but, according to his plain statement, it is *Sphairos*, the supreme divinity, that which at the creation of the world was first separated into the four elements, which had been held in perfect neutrality in it (fr. 175, f.; also Panzerbieter's "Contributions to the Criticism and Explanation of Empedocles," p. 27; and Philop. in Aristot. de Gen. et Corr., fol. 5^b). Nevertheless Aristotle—and in this Zeller follows him—ascribes to Empedocles the remarkable notion that this *divided divinity*—which, assuredly, already presupposes an earlier one, the *dividing divinity*—is the original beginning. However, Aristotle corrects his improper arrangement of Empedocles in his development by that which he ascribes to him as his merit, that he has not merely set forth, as did Anaxagoras, the second of his metaphysical principles, ὁθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως and ἅμα τοῦ καλῶς τὴν αἰτίαν; but in his two forces, *φιλία* and *νεῖκος*, actuating all things, he has also

set forth an explanation of the many imperfections in the world. And further, Aristotle (Meta., ii, 4) calls the *Sphairos* of Empedocles the supreme divinity (τὸν ἐνδαιμονέστατον θεόν). On the contrary, Zeller, not questioning the complete correctness of the development, continues to hold, in accordance with this, that with Empedocles the four elements in their separation were the primitive source of being. Therefore he rejects (707, 708, Rem. 1) not only the testimony of Aristotle concerning *Sphairos*, so clearly presented above, but also the explanation of Empedocles himself.* On this account people naturally obtain from Zeller's book a false picture of the philosophy of Empedocles; a picture at least implicitly distorted in the manner mentioned, and in which the most important and the most characteristic marks are passed over.

We have here the remarkable fact that a very spiritually-minded man, highly gifted as a philosopher, a poet, and a physician, should acknowledge himself in favor of magic. This fact concerning Zeller is taken notice of simply in reference to his deliverances upon the life of the philosopher. In his statement of his conception of the world, however, it is passed over in silence, although it stands connected with this world-theory by the most intimate principles of relation. Of the transmigration of souls, and of whatever is related to this doctrine, Zeller remarks (p. 734) very properly: "Empedocles has borrowed this doctrine from the Orphic-Pythagorean tradition." But this was, according to Herodotus (ii, 81), no other than the Egyptian tradition; therefore Empedocles had no necessity first of going to Egypt to obtain his Egyptian doctrine.

Although Aristotle presents to us, after Empedocles, Anaxagoras as the summit of his scale of development, yet the contradiction in the chronology thereby presented, as we observed above in reference to Hegel, produces in him no con-

* Zeller says: "Moreover, Empedocles has not designated his *Sphairos* the Divinity, but simply divinity. Aristotle first called this ὁ θεός. But it does not follow on account of this fact that Empedocles had so named it." But the four elements into which the primitive essence, the *Sphairos*, is divided, were expressly mentioned by Empedocles as γνῖα θεοῖο [members of God]. Whether, therefore, he made use of the word *theoio* with the article or without it, in either case, since he is treating of the primitive essence, the expression is equally complete. So much must be granted, that the entire ancient world also had no other conception of *Sphairos* than that it was the supreme divinity of Empedocles.

fusion; the rather, he himself remarks, with entire lack of prejudice: Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ τὰ τέτταρα . . . Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ ὁ Κλαζομένιος, τῇ μὲν ἡλικίᾳ πρότερος ὢν τοῦτον, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις ὕστερος, ἀπειροὺς εἶναι φησι τὰς ἀρχάς [now Empedocles says, that there are four first principles, but Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, although his senior in years yet junior in works, declares that the first principles are countless]. For that he did not mean by τοῖς ἔργοις the writing of Anaxagoras entitled περὶ φύσεως, the form of the expression shows (comp. Breier, Philos. of Anaxagoras, p. 85). Nevertheless we may say, as in reference to Empedocles so also in a much clearer manner in reference to Anaxagoras, that Aristotle makes good the point in which, in his development, he transgresses against history; since he, at once, upon the statement, sets him forth in his true significance and says of him that he, by his teaching in reference to νόος, appears, in comparison with his predecessors, as a sober man—as prudent in the midst of silly praters. Zeller, however, does not do the same; he holds Anaxagoras as well as Empedocles in the false position which he borrows from the Aristotelian scale of development. In accordance with this he desires to persuade us (p. 874, ff.) that the conception of numberless primitive elements forms the peculiar constitution of the doctrine of Anaxagoras, and furnishes the ground for his significance in the history of philosophy; since with him νόος has for its purpose simply the combination and the separation of the elements. Accordingly, we should have here before us a perplexing problem, if the elevating conception of the world, through which Anaxagoras and his pupil and protector, Pericles, are said to have conceived the nobility of mind and character ascribed to them (Plato, Phædrus, 270^a, Plutarch, Pericles, c. 4, 5, among others by Schaubach, Anaxag. fragm., p. 17, f.), were no other than the assumption of numberless primitive elements.

Whoever understands the general point of view of the Clazomenæan in its true form, knows that it is that undoubtedly elevating doctrine of νόος which lends to him his significance, and that, too, very high, not simply in pre-Socratic philosophy, but in the philosophy of all times; for he first distinguished fully mind and matter, the one from the other, and through this deprived nature—not excepting sun and moon (Plato,

Apol., 26^d)—of divinity, and reduced it to a bundle of merely natural elements. The assumption of numberless primitive elements into which nature must of necessity divide after it is deprived of divinity, had, indeed, *vóos* for its presupposition, but not, as Zeller states it, for its sequent. That Anaxagoras called the infinitely pure spirit simply *vóos* is very intelligible from his position in the midst of Grecian idolatry. No one would doubt that Euripides simply rendered the meaning of his teacher, when in one of his dramas he interwove the following dialogue:

Θεὸν δὲ ποῖον εἶπέ μοι νοητόν;
Τὸν πάντῃ ὁρῶντα καὶ τὸν οὐχ ὁράμενον.*

[Tell me what sort of God is the *Intelligible*?

He is the observer of every thing, while He himself is not seen.]

In fact there is wanting to *vóos* no one of the characteristic distinctions that the theist of the Old Testament ascribes to God. It is in the first place a pure incorporeal spirit, without relation of essence with any thing whatsoever, absolutely self-sustained.† It is *αὐτοκράτωρ*, that is to say, self-controlled with unrestricted power in reference to free inclination.‡ If Zeller (p. 889, f. 892, rem.) does not wish to acknowledge full personality as essential to *vóos*, from the fact that Anaxagoras teaches "that it inheres as living soul in all animals, great and small,"§ he must also deny this personality to the God of the Old Testament. For the Psalmist (civ, 29 f.) speaks in reference to all

* Schneither de Euripide philosopho, p. 27.

† Fr. 6; Aristot. de Anima, i, 2; iii, 4; Cic. de Nat. Deor., i, 11. It cannot surprise us that Anaxagoras, in the fragment mentioned, says also of *vóos*: *ἔστι γὰρ λεπτότατον τε πάντων χρημάτων καὶ καθαρώτατον*; for, indeed, the God of the Old Testament and of the New, whose incorporeity no one doubts, is designated as *breath*, *πνεῦμα*. Also, the Book of Wisdom, vii, 22, speaks of *σοφία*, the immaterial, as *πνεῦμα νοητόν*, *λεπτόν*, etc.

‡ Plato calls *vóos* in Cratylus, 413^a, *αὐτοκράτωρ*; Anaxagoras designates it in fr. 6, as *αὐτοκρατής*. Carus, de Anaxagoreæ cosmo-theologiæ fontibus, p. 9, explains this expression as follows: "Solis suis viribus et solo suo utitur arbitrio, suamque propriam potestatem habet, nec ulla causa nisi sua voluntate ductus decernit. Verbum illi ætati maxime proprium, Euripideum, Thucydideum. Apud Euripidem mentis solius est epitheton; Androm. 482. In Thucydide, ubi schol. αὐτεξοίσαν explicare solent, vel de libertate ipsi τῇχῃ imperante (iv, 68), vel de λογισμῷ, s. ratione sponte agente (iv, 107), vel sensu politico occurrit, e. c. τὸ πᾶν αὐτοκράτορσι διαθεῖναι (i, 126, coll. vi, 8; v, 45); huc quoque referam αὐτοκίνητον illud apud Lactantium Inst., i, 5, 18."

§ Aristot., de Anima, i, 2, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσι γὰρ ὑπάρχειν αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν νόον) τοῖς ζώοις καὶ μεγάλους καὶ μικροῖς, etc. Comp. Anaxag. fr. 6.

the living, of which there are "creeping things without number, and animals great and small," as directly from God: "Thou takest away their breath, and they die and return to dust. Thou givest forth thy breath and they are created, and thou renewest the face of the earth." And the Book of Job says (xxxiv, 14, f.): "Whenever he gives attention to himself alone, when he draws his spirit and his life-breath back to himself, then all flesh perish and man returns to the dust." (Comp. Cölln Bibl. Theol., § 23, vol. i, p. 132.) In a manner worthy of note Tertullian (*de Anima*, 12) says also of Anaxagoras, that he considered *νόος* a point of revolution, upon which the collected life of the universe hung (*universitatis oscillum ex illius axe suspendens*). Further, *νόος* is not simply the creator of the system of the world, which it has brought forth from chaos through the separation of the elements, acting after the manner of a master workman (and, indeed, the entire physics of Anaxagoras is, even according to his peculiar declaration in fr. 12, this simple doctrine of chaos), but it is in general only the power actuating every thing; there is no other power, no other god beside it, no fate (Plutarch, Pericles, c. 4; Alex. Aphrod. de Fato 2, p. 4, f., ed. Orelli), no chance (Plato, Philebus, 28e; Aristot. Metaph., i, 3); Zeus only *is*, and all the popular gods are not (Lucian, Timon, c. 10). It [he] is not simply all-powerful, because it [he] makes every thing, but also all-wise, as Anaxagoras says: "It [he] possessed all knowledge of every thing." Already at the creation of the system of the world from chaos it [he] had foreknowledge of every thing, and distinguished the same. "The commixture, the separation, and the distinction, *νόος* knew each; what ought to be, what was, what now is, what shall be, *νόος* directs all." It is, according to Cedrenus (Chron., p. 130) and Harpocration, "the guard of the world" (*πάντων φρουρός*); according to Plato, "the king of heaven and earth" (Plato, Philebus, 28e, *βασιλεὺς οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς*; comp. Breier, Philos. de Anaxag., p. 82). Accordingly, Anaxagoras must of necessity have believed that every thing in the world was intelligible and admirable, and that nothing was unintelligible and ill-formed (Aristot., Metaph., i, 3, f.; Themist., in Aristot., Phys., fol. 58^b; Plato, Philebus, 28e). Therefore there can be given scarcely a plainer proof of the spirit of this philosopher than the information of the ancients

that he pronounced it the highest satisfaction of life "to contemplate the heavens and the collective arrangement of the world" (Aristot., *Eth. Eudem.*, i, 5; comp. Philo quod mundus sit incorr., p. 488, ed. Francof.). This presentation of the starry heavens—for it signifies self-consciousness—is so much the more worthy of attention because in this symbol also the theist of the Old Testament perceives the clearest confirmation (Psalm xix, 2, *f.*).

The conception of Zeller (p. 894, *f.*), that no place was found by Anaxagoras for faith in providence* is contradicted, not only by the preceding remarks, but especially most thoroughly by the expression given from fr. 6; and still further Plutarch mentions (de Fortuna, c. 3) in plain words, that according to Anaxagoras through *εὐβουλία* (prudence) and *πρόνοια* (foreknowledge) man had received talent to make himself lord of all created things, and to have them do service at his wish. To a less extent can the tradition from Pseudo-Plutarch be doubted, that according to the statement of Anaxagoras *νόος* was concerned especially about man, and consequently made him the principal point of view of creation (Gen. i, 26, *f.*; ix, 2, *f.*; Psalms viii, 5, *f.*; de Plac. Phil., i, 7, 7; comp. Eusebius, Praep. Evang., xiv, 16; Rosenmüller Schol. on Gen. i, 26–31). The notion of Zeller that Anaxagoras in his writings developed physics exclusively, and treated of *νόος* only so far as he had need of the same, is also contradicted on the authority of Plato. In his *Phædrus* (270*) he says of Anaxagoras: *περὶ νοῦ τε καὶ ἀνοίας τὸν πολλὸν λόγον ἐποιεῖτο* [concerning intelligence and nescience, he argued much].

Consequently Zeller states the doctrine of Anaxagoras in its most essential principle incorrectly throughout. How little his statement of the doctrine of Pythagoras and of the Pythag-

* If Zeller by this wishes especially to call attention to the criticism that Plato (*Phædo*, 97*) and Aristotle (*Meta.*, i, 4) pass upon Anaxagoras, how that he made use of the *νόος* only where he knew not where to find the physical causes of an appearance, it may be said that the same had been sufficiently elucidated, both in ancient time and by modern teachers. This criticism, which seems perfectly intelligible from the Platonic and the Aristotelian point of view, ought not to be reiterated by a Christian teacher, who knows that the physical explanations of our science of nature neither exclude nor condition our faith in providence (Simplicius on Aristot. *Phys.*, fol. 38*; Hensen, *Anaxag. Claz.*, p. 89, *f.*; H. Ritter, *Hist. Phil.*, i, p. 317, *f.*; *Hist. Ion. Phil.*, p. 246, *f.*).

oreans is in harmony with historical accuracy I have proved in my dissertation, "The Egyptian Perversion of Pythagoras" (Philol. xxxix). While in actuality each perception of the world is organically developed in an admirable manner from a positive basis of knowledge, by Zeller they are all regarded as a collection of thoughts and conceptions that can be brought in connection with a stated principle in part only artificially, in part not at all. Most significantly is this presented by Heraclitus. Since he understood $\pi\tilde{\nu}\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\zeta\omega\nu$ to be that primitive essence which happens to be in ceaseless change, *the perpetual flux of all things* results from this naturally. The same is likewise the $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\epsilon\chi\omicron\nu\ \phi\rho\epsilon\nu\eta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$, the ethereal Zeus, the $\gamma\nu\omega\mu\eta\ \eta\tau\epsilon\ \delta\iota\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\ \delta\iota\grave{\alpha}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$, also the $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \xi\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ (fr. 58), further, likewise, the rational soul and $\alpha\upsilon\gamma\eta\ \xi\eta\rho\eta\ \psi\upsilon\chi\eta\ \sigma\omicron\phi\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta$ (fr. 73, 74). Since it dwells in every essence as its living soul, nothing is more horrible than that which is deprived of soul, that is, in want of divinity (godless), the mere dead body (fr. 53); consequently nothing is more foolish than to pray to that which is without soul, to images destitute of every sign of the divine essence. Darkness, or Hades, is set in opposition to the ethereal Zeus, or the pure light; hence the detestation of every gloomy impulse like magic and mysticism (fr. 81 Clem. Alex., Cohort., ii, p. 18, f., ed. Potter; fr. 70 by Schleiermacher); hence, also, the detestation of falsehood skulking in the darkness (fr. 8 Schl.), and his positive emphasis in the treatment of truth and frankness,* and especially that no

* In Stobæus Floril., iii, 84, we find the following Heraclitean fragment: $\alpha\omega\rho\rho\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\eta\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\iota}\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\omicron\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota\nu\ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \phi\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\iota\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$. Schleiermacher (n. 44) first called this fragment in question; for he, as he himself declares, relies on mere feeling. Now Mullach has permitted it to vanish entirely from the collection of Heraclitean fragments with a remark (under fr. 56) upon its want of intelligible connection with fr. 55, although the latter fragment just as little bears implicitly the impress of authenticity. For, in the first place, $\alpha\omega\rho\rho\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ is the first of the four cardinal virtues of the Heraclitean Stoics, and in the second place there is scarcely an expression more thoroughly Heraclitean than $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\ \pi\omicron\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota\nu$, since according to Sextus Empiricus (adv. Math., viii, 8), Heraclitus regarded $\tau\omicron\ \alpha\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ etymologically as $\tau\omicron\ \mu\grave{\eta}\ \lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\omicron\nu$; moreover, extravagance is attributed to me by Zeller (p. 677), that I rendered conspicuous in Heraclitus the expression "that he desired a knowledge of the truth" as a Zoroastrian phrase. The above-quoted $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\omicron\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota\nu$ it was indeed fitting to point out as an authentic Zoroastrian expression, and I have abundant evidence in Herodot., i, 136; Plato, Alcib., i, 121, f.; Strabo, xv, 3, 18, p. 733, ed. Casaubon; Stobæus, Floril., vol. ii, p. 227, ed. Gaisf.

'one can continue to hide his deceit from that Light which never sets.*

Furthermore, the traditions that point to a Zoroastrian burial along with the cremation of the dead body are explained by the significance that fire and the corpse had in his conception.† How also the conception, war is the father of all things, had its ground in the nature of his primitive essence, has been already pointed out above. Thus all this is unfolded very simply from the authentic fundamental point of view of Heraclitus, while it does not permit of positive deduction from the substituted metaphysical proposition of the flux of all things.

It can escape the notice of no one that in the explanations of Zeller there is manifestly an effort to hold Orientalism at a distance, or to explain it away. In this effort, at bottom, no doubt, lies the belief which seems to prevail quite generally that these philosophers, by proof of the Oriental content of their doctrines, suffer a loss of the authority that up to this time has been assigned to them. In fact exactly the opposite is true. While Pythagoras and his school, Heraclitus, the Eleatics, Empedocles, and Anaxagoras, up to this time are esteemed simply as the foremost thinkers among the Hellenes, they became through these proofs the representatives, at the same time, of that great historical civilization of nations, the religious world-theories of which, some more and some less

* The beautiful fragment τὸ μὴ δύναν ποτε (φῶς) πῶς ἂν τις λάθῃ has been entirely distorted by Mullach under n. 48, in that he has changed τις τοῦ τινα, and consequently has translated it *quomodo quemquam fugiat ignis nunquam occidens*? He, as certain as Schleiermacher (n. 40), has forgotten to notice the connection in which the fragment from Clemens Alexandrinus, Paedag. (ii, 10, p. 229, ed. Potter), is brought forward. Clemens says, in the words of Isaiah xxix, 15, οἱ αἱ οἱ ἐν κρηφῇ βουλὴν ποιῶντες, καὶ ἔσται ἐν σκότει τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν καὶ ἱροῖσιν τις ἑώρακεν ἡμᾶς, adding, λήσεται μὲν γὰρ ἰσως τὸ αἰσθητὸν φῶς τις· τὸ δὲ νοητὸν (without doubt God is meant) ἀδιδαντόν ἐστιν ἢ, ὡς φησιν Ἡράκλειτος, τὸ μὴ δύναν ποτε πῶς ἂν τις λάθῃ; μὴ αἰσῶς τοῖσιν ἐπικαλυπτόμεθα τὸ σκότος. Therefore the change of Mullach is unintelligible, especially since we do not generally cover ourselves before the sun as the sensuous light, to forget it, but in order not to be seen by it. In the fragment there is nothing to warrant the change, not even λήσεται in the words of Clemens, for the future middle, λήσεται, with the accusative is used for the future active, λήσω.

† Zeller, p. 677, states the case as though I would give credence to the saying, Heraclitus was torn in pieces alive by dogs, while I am of the opinion that in this we have merely a perversion of the fact of a Zoroastrian burial, for I expressly remark: "Why should we be surprised if he ordered a Zoroastrian burial for himself, if he thought and taught the Zoroastrian doctrine?"

sensuous, they give back in the clearness of philosophy, as in beautiful pictures of light, and thus unlock the door for a correct and deeper understanding of history.* Especially conspicuous does this become in the explanation of Egyptian philosophy by the light of Empedocles.

[NOTE BY THE EDITOR, ALFRED FLECKEISEN. I regret that the author of this article was not privileged to see it in print. On the 16th of November of the present year (1879) he died peacefully at Berlin. The Miscellany of the "Norddeutschen Allg. Ztg." for November 23 contains an obituary from the pen of the counselor of legation, Dr. R. Hepke, from which, largely *verbatim*, we borrow the following notice:

August Gludisch was born August 28, 1804, at Altenhof, in the province of Posen. He studied in Berlin, for the most part under Carl Ritter and Hegel, who at that time stood at the summit of their scientific activity. He was appointed, at the beginning of his thirtieth year, teacher of German literature and the elements of philosophy at the Catholic gymnasium in Posen. His instruction incited activity of a high grade among his pupils. His courtesy and integrity of character gained for him the confidence of his pupils—the greater part of whom were Poles—to such an extent that in their especial perplexities they took refuge in him, although he understood not a word of Polish, as though he were a paternal friend. After about

* In reference to this, of course, the argument is not that the philosophers named have drawn, directly, from the Oriental fountain-head, nor even that in a single instance they recited in a mechanical way the tradition handed down from that source; many a tradition must, *per se*, of necessity at the beginning be transformed into the Hellenic view (for example, the Egyptians thought of the moon, not as a goddess, but as a god); but the essential harmony of their conceptions is very evident. In a very plain way this can be shown by comparison of Parmenides and the acosmic Brahmins. Parmenides distinguished two points of view for reflection—that of truth in accordance with the knowledge of reflecting reason, that of mere opinion in accordance with the observation of sense; he taught of the first that it was simply being, $\tau\acute{o} \delta\upsilon$, while he explained visible multiplicity and change of being, the entire world as presented to our vision, as $\mu\eta \delta\upsilon$ —an empty delusion of sense. In like manner the Brahmins distinguish the point of *cognitio* and that of *ignorantia*, and teach in reference to the first very strictly that it is the Brahma or God: "he is the entity, *sat* (the common $\tau\acute{o} \delta\upsilon$), while forms, being mere delusion, are nonentity, *asat* (the common $\tau\acute{o} \mu\eta \delta\upsilon$); there is not here any multiplicity." (Colebrooke, "On the Vedas" in the "Researches in Asia," vol. viii, p. 404; "On the Philosophy of the Hindus," in the "Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society," vol. ii, p. 26.)

ten years' activity he was forced by pressure from the archiepiscopal see of the government to resign his position under penalty of the withdrawal of his salary. He went to Halle, there passed over to the Evangelical Church, and earnestly engaged himself with his scientific works, until he was again called into active service as director of the newly established gymnasium at Krotoschin. This position he has occupied until a few years since, when the disease which has now proved fatal compelled him to resign.

His scientific works were comparative researches in the realm of religion and philosophy. In a series of monographs he sought to prove, among other things, that the religious world-theories of the five ancient civilized nations of the Orient—the Chinese, the Indians, the Persians, the Egyptians, and the Israelites—return in Hellenic civilization as elements of religious and philosophical consciousness. His writings relating to this subject (now collected and published by Heinrichs, Leipzig) are: "The Ancient Chinese and the Pythagoreans" (1841); "The Eleatics and the Indians" (1844); "Heraclitus and Zoroaster" (1859); "Empedocles and the Egyptians" (1858); "Anaxagoras and the Israelites" (1864); "The Hyperboreans and the Ancient Chinese" (1866); "Religion and Philosophy in their General Historical Development and their Relation to Each Other" (1852).]

ART. VI.—THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BODY FOR MENTAL ACTION.

ONE of the most obvious facts of experience is, that the mental life is profoundly dependent upon the physical organism, and more especially upon the brain and nervous system. From this many have concluded, with somewhat hasty logic, that the body itself is the sole source and seat of the mental life. The logic is hasty, for the facts are ambiguous, and may be explained by either of two hypotheses:

1. We may suppose that the organism produces the mental facts. This would explain the observed dependence.
2. We may suppose that the mind is distinct from the

organism, but is conditioned by it. This also would explain the observed dependence.

A careful logic would recognize this ambiguity, and would then seek for some ground of decision between the rival theories.

The first hypothesis is that of materialism. In this view the mind is only a collective term for thoughts and feelings, and these in turn are produced by the organism. This view is perfectly clear until we try to understand it, and then we forthwith begin to grope. In explanation of the production of thought by matter various suggestions are made, but they all prove treacherous, and commit us either to nonsense or to absurdity. Thus it is said:

1. The brain secretes thought as the liver does bile. But the secretory organs either eliminate their products from the blood, or make them from material furnished by the blood; and hence, if we are to take the suggested analogy in earnest, it would follow that thoughts either pre-exist in the blood, or are made out of blood, and in either case that they are material, and might conceivably be collected in a test tube and looked at.

2. Thought has been called a mode of motion, and as motion is something immaterial, this view seems less gross than the preceding. But motion is nothing apart from something that moves, and the moving thing is the reality. Hence this view, when made complete, becomes this: The motion of M from A to B with velocity v is a thought. That it should produce a thought is intelligible; that it is a thought is absurd. As well might we call the following line ——— a flash of insight or a heavenly aspiration.

3. It only remains that we say that matter produces thought, without too curiously specifying the nature of this production. But our previous trouble continues so long as we appeal only to the forces which physical science attributes to matter. These forces are without exception moving forces, that is, their effect consists in modifying the movements and groupings of matter. And all production in the physical realm consists not in making something else, but in producing new movements and groupings of given matter. The change of grouping and the new movement are the effect. If now the production of thought is to be assimilated to physical production we should

have to say that a certain material grouping is a thought. As n atoms grouped and moving in a certain way do not produce, but are, a chemical molecule; so m atoms grouped and moving in a certain way do not produce, but are, a thought. As in the preceding cases such thoughts might conceivably be collected and looked at, and essentially the same absurdity reappears.

4. There is no getting on so long as we use only those conceptions of matter which suffice for physical science. The more clearly we grasp those conceptions the clearer becomes the impossibility of bringing mental facts into line with them. But who shall assure us that we have not thought too meanly of matter? that it has not "promises and potencies" in it which physics has overlooked? This suggestion is so necessary to any system of materialism that it has been universally adopted, and matter has been hypothetically endowed with mystic possibilities, "inner faces," "subjective aspects," etc. Why may not a series of such elements produce thought as a function, or resultant, of their interaction?

This view in no way meets the purpose of its invention. Assume n elements, a, b, c, d , etc., endowed with sundry mystic possibilities and entering into a highly complex interaction. As a consequence they may all enter into the same inner state m , or into a series of states m, n, o, p, r , etc., different for each. These inner states, owing to the mysterious double-facedness of the elements, may be considered as having a mental nature. The only possible outcome of the elements' interaction is a modification of their space relations and the production of these inner states. But each of these states is inseparable from its own subject. There is no way whereby m, n, o, r , may leave their respective subjects and meet in the void to form a compound mental state which I call mine. Such a procedure would be like that of a series of motions which should break loose from their subjects and compound themselves in the void to form a new motion which should be the motion of nothing. So long as these hypothetical mental states are inseparable from their subjects, they are useless for explaining my mental life.

With this bare suggestion of some of the difficulties of materialism we return to the statement that our mental dependence on physical conditions is an ambiguous fact, and is as com-

patible with the spiritualistic as with the materialistic hypothesis. But a great many considerations make the latter untenable and shut us up to the former. But that view, though affirming a mind distinct from the organism, by no means annuls the fact that our mental action is physically conditioned. It is this significance of the body for the mental life which we propose to consider. There is all the more reason to do this from the fact, that while materialism has falsely concluded from the dependence, to the non-existence, of the soul, spiritualism, on the other hand, has often tended to ignore the dependence. The body has been spoken of as a cage, a prison, a defilement; and thus a spurious spiritualism has arisen as one-sided as materialism itself. It is desirable, if possible, to clear up the matter so that the facts shall be neither ignored nor materialistically interpreted.

That all mental action is attended by physical wear any one can easily satisfy himself by experiment. In much of our mental work there is a deal of physical labor directly involved, as in reading or speaking. The organism must be adjusted to the demands made upon it; and these are often great. Again, in much of our mental activity there is a continuous demand made upon some of the organs of sense. There is nothing strange in the nervous waste arising from such labor; for the organism is distinctly active. But apart from these cases there is a waste attendant upon thinking in general without any reference to the senses whatever. The abstract reflections of the philosopher and the unpicturable thinking of the theologian involve nervous wear and waste, although the objects dealt with are entirely supersensible. In like manner the prayer of the saint and the longing of the mystic take place only at nervous expense. Doubt at this point concerns not the facts but their interpretation.

Many have claimed that in such cases our thoughts are but the transformation of the nervous energy consumed. This claim rests upon a total misunderstanding of the general doctrine of energy in physics. The common fancy is, that energy is an ethereal something gliding from one thing to another, and assuming various forms in the passage. This is sheer mythology. Energy must always be the energy of something, and cannot exist in the void without a subject. In the

physical theory, the elements are the subjects of the physical energies. But these are in such relations to one another that a given element, *A*, may arouse energy in another element, *B*, at the cost of its own. This is the transference of energy; and as in the case of the transference of motion, there is no proper transference but a propagation.

Again, in this propagation the new state produced may be qualitatively unlike the antecedent. The antecedent, electricity, may have for consequent heat, light, motor-power, etc. This qualitative change is the transformation of energy. It consists simply in the qualitative unlikeness of antecedent and consequent.

Finally, if the antecedents and consequents are measured by some dynamic standard, they are found to be dynamically equivalent in spite of their qualitative differences. This is the conservation of energy.

How far this is from the rhetorical whim of a protean energy which passes from thing to thing and from form to form is evident. Except in a figurative sense, there is no transference and no transformation. If then the brain should expend energy in arousing the mind to activity, there would be no passage of physical energy into mental energy, but an expenditure of the former in inciting the mind to develop the latter. And here again it is possible that no physical energy is expended in arousing the mind, but only in setting up the physical changes which are accompanied by thought. It may be that thinking costs the brain something; and it may be that each nervous antecedent is fully accounted for in its nervous consequent.

The share of the brain in thinking may be conceived as follows: The interaction between mind and brain is mutual. A given nervous state tends to produce a specific sensation; and conversely the thought of that sensation tends to reproduce the corresponding physical state. This is seen in its most striking form in the sensations which arise from expectation and belief. In such cases the nervous system is so strongly affected that the sensation is really produced. In the representation of form also something of the same kind is probable in the visual tract. Hallucinations resulting in the vision of unrealities reveal such a tendency. Language also, when present in thought,

produces a nascent affection of the vocal organs. Finally, thought is very often attended by emotion; and this at once finds an echo in the physical system. There is then a mutual interaction between soul and body. The physical state tends to produce its mental effect; and the mental state echoes itself in the physical system. The intimate union of soul and body explains their mutual sympathy. This sympathy becomes all the more intelligible if we suppose that the soul itself, in its subconscious activities, is the builder and administrator of the organism.

Such an order of interaction of soul and body being given, the significance of physical health for mental health becomes apparent. To begin with, the body is the instrument whereby the soul gets all its impressions of the outer world; and in order to have a rational mental life, these impressions must constitute an orderly series or system of series. If they are disorderly or incoherent from the beginning, the soul has no manageable material to work upon; and the rational nature fails to develop. The result is idiocy, varying in depth with the physical imperfection from which it springs.

Or we may suppose the disorder to begin after the rational life has been developed into coherent forms, and sensations have become the signs of certain objects. If now the disorder result in producing sensations without the presence of their appropriate objects, there will be a series of hallucinations. If these sensations be of a strange and distressing nature, the mind will give them various interpretations according to its own past experience. The known laws of association working upon the sense-data would not fail to present manifold uncanny or terrific objects. These objects, again, by the same laws and by the automatic connection of mental states with the motor system, would not fail to call forth corresponding action. The result would be delirium or insanity. In this case the mental action would be normal or rational under the assumed circumstances. The fault would be in the sense-data; and to correct them would discharge the delusion.

Again, we know that a long-continued mental strain often makes it impossible for us to banish our objects. They haunt us to weariness and because of weariness. Such a fact is explained by an overwrought state of the nerves, whereby they

fail to return to their equilibrium of indifference. If, now, parts of the nervous tract should become permanently excited in this way, but to a still greater degree, we should have a tendency of certain forms of experience to take and maintain possession of consciousness; and these, working together with the past experience of the individual, would produce "fixed ideas" of one kind or another.

A certain amount of fixity in the elements of experience is necessary to rationality. Without it there can be no discrimination, reflection, or judgment. When the rapidity of change is too great, the mind fails to identify or retain any thing. This is seen in the flight of ideas in delirium. Nothing is fixed or stable enough to allow the mind to grasp its objects in rational comprehension. If now the nervous system should acquire abnormal mobility of its parts, so that the physical changes which are attended by mental states should succeed one another with undue rapidity, something of the same kind must happen. Rational reflection would be impeded, if not impossible; and the tendency would be toward obliteration of rationality altogether.

Mental work is greatly aided by physical helps in many ways. Compare, for example, the labor of solving a geometrical problem or of multiplying a long list of figures in the mind, with that of doing the same work when the diagrams are drawn or the figures written down. The physical symbol helps the mind to keep the problem steadily before it, and leaves it free for purely rational effort. Doubtless it will seem to us that there is nothing strange in this fact; for we see the things directly. But we must point out that seeing is simply a form of mental action which arises from certain forms of nervous action. The object stands before the mind, not because it exists objectively, but because a certain kind of nervous action incites the mind to create in itself the vision of the object. Such facts then prove that there are nervous states which can greatly assist the mind in some of its operations. But many facts make it very probable that something of the same kind exists in all thinking because of the connection of thought with language and with physical images. If this be so, then any disturbance of the brain whereby it should affect the mind only in a coarse and gross manner, or whereby it should become less sensitive

to mental states, would impede rational activity as much as it would embarrass a mathematician to take his pencil and paper away from him. More than this, it would tend to repress rational activity; for so long as the mind is subject to such an order of interaction with the body, a disturbance in either member must reflect itself in the other. If, in addition, this state of the nerves should be the ground of various vague and disturbing states of consciousness which should harass the mind and distract attention, the higher forms of mental action must be profoundly disturbed. We have constant illustration of such disturbance in the inability to think, to fix the attention, and to store up facts for recollection which attends the weariness of every day and ends in unconsciousness every night.

The previous suggestions are intended to remove some of the mystery which hangs around this subject in popular thought, and to show how unnecessary it is to have recourse to materialistic theories. The general laws of mind, and of the interaction of body and mind, make it perfectly plain that while the soul is connected with the body the physical condition must have the profoundest significance for the mental life. We believe, also, that they explain in principle all the mental disturbances and aberrations which arise from organic conditions. We say "in principle," because there is no theory which enables us to explain each fact in detail. The most thorough-going materialism is as completely unable to explain the detailed facts of our mental dependence on physical conditions—for example, peculiar losses of memory—as any other theory. But the same inability to follow our principles into details meets us every-where, even in the laws of mechanics. We may be perfectly sure that the simple laws of force and motion determine every movement in the physical universe, and yet we cannot trace any of them except in the simplest instances.

But this dependence of mental functions upon physical conditions cannot fail to suggest the question, whether the mental life can go on apart from the body. The question divides into two: 1) Can the mental life go on apart from the present body? 2) Can the mental life go on apart from a body? We begin with the former.

Taken by themselves, the facts admit of a threefold interpre-

tation. We may regard the body, 1) as producing mental functions, 2) as necessary to mental functions, and 3) as interfering with and repressing mental functions which it does not produce, and to which it is not necessary. The first interpretation is excluded by the untenability of materialism. Between the other two, we must observe that the facts are mainly negative. They do not show us the body as necessary to the performance of mental functions, but as interfering with mental functions. In any case the existing connection between physical and mental states is purely a factual one. Neither is seen to imply the other; and, so far as we can see, they could exist equally well apart. The nervous action does not do the mental work. It does not feel, nor think, nor remember, but merely furnishes the stimulus thereto. One of the elegant conceptions of the physiological psychologists is, that the brain itself does the mind's remembering; as if by any possibility one thing could remember for another. Doubtless the physical stimulus is adapted to the circumstances of our present life; but it is entirely conceivable that the same result should be reached in many other ways, and that in some other life a finer and subtler stimulus may lead to a higher and richer unfolding. Why a given form of vibration should produce the sensation red is quite unknown; and why red should not be produced by any other form whatever is equally unknown. The series of sensations and feelings is a not closed one, and the external stimulus to their development may be any thing the Creator chooses to appoint. Our mental experiences are not taken ready-made from the body; the body is only the appointed means in the present life for evoking them.

Concerning the second question, we remark, that when once a mental life has begun, and a store of ideas has been accumulated, it seems quite possible that a self-inclosed thought-life might go on thereafter in entire independence of any organism. No necessity for an organism appears except for communication with the outer world. Without it, the soul would be restricted to itself, having no experience of the world beyond, and no power to act upon and in that world. Such a life would be very bare and limited, and to escape it some system of interaction with the outer [objective] world is needed whereby the soul may receive impulses from without, and may

produce effects beyond itself. Indeed, that is probably all that the present organism is—an organized system of interaction for the reception and transmission of impulses. In this sense there can be no full mental life without a body. But in another life this system may be altogether unlike the present, on the one hand furnishing the stimulus to a far higher mental unfolding, and on the other receiving mental commands with a perfect and complete obedience. The Christian thought of the resurrection and of the spiritual body seems to involve [hypothetically] something of this sort.

The abstract possibility of our existing apart from the present body admits of no dispute; but this is far enough from proving that we shall so exist. Yet the fact that the soul cannot be identified with the body shows that the destruction of the body contains no assignable ground for the destruction of the soul. The indestructibility of substance, also, upon which physical science is based, would suggest that every real thing must be assumed to continue in existence until its annihilation has been proved. If, then, this subject is to be argued upon the basis of our customary ideas, the burden of proof would lie altogether upon the believer in annihilation. For the soul is real, and must be assumed to exist until its destruction has been shown. Of course, such a showing is impossible, and hence the presumption must remain in favor of continued existence.

To this it is urged in objection, that such a claim would imply the continued existence of brute souls; and that this would be absurd. In fact, the absurdity lies altogether in the unfamiliarity of the notion. That many forms of animal life should exist at all is as great an absurdity as can well be conceived. That they should continue to exist would be no greater. The question, Of what use would they be hereafter? is offset by the equally unanswerable one, Of what use are they here? We need not reflect long to see that our artificial and anthropomorphic conceptions of the fit and unfit cannot well be applied to cosmic problems.

In fact, however, none of our customary ideas will help us in this matter. Metaphysics convinces us that the entire system of finite things has its ground of existence not in itself, but in one Infinite Being, who is the fundamental reality of all existence. No finite thing, then, has any inalienable right to

exist by virtue of its title of substance or on any other metaphysical ground whatever. Every finite thing, whether material or spiritual, begins to exist because the nature or plan of the Infinite calls for it. If that nature or plan should no longer demand its existence, then that thing would cease to be. We can only lay down, then, this formal principle: Those things that have perennial significance for the universe will abide; those which have only temporary significance will pass away. But this principle admits of no specific conclusions on our part. We cannot tell what the plan of the Infinite may include and what it may exclude. It already includes so much that we should have rejected that we can hardly escape the conviction that the data of the problem lie beyond our grasp. The only thing to which we can attribute absolute worth is moral goodness or the moral personality; but this is a consideration drawn from [our conceptions of] the moral nature, and not from metaphysical speculation. In short, if the moral nature demands continued existence, or if any word of revelation affirms it, there is no fact or argument against it. On the other hand, apart from the moral nature and revelation, pure speculation must occupy a somewhat agnostic attitude upon this question of immortality.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

ABOUT REVIVALS.

It is becoming pretty generally recognized that in order to maintain the requisite spiritual interest in the Church, and to realize its best possibilities, there must be from time to time special efforts and incitements toward religious quickening. If the Church's highest aim is only the maintenance of itself in the fullness of its governmental powers, then perhaps only a steady course of administrative effectiveness is needed; but even for that end the zealous co-operation of its members is desirable, and therefore it is needful to seek the increase of their devotion to the Church. Accordingly, we see how effectually the Church of Rome touches every individual of its communion by the use of its so-called sacraments at every stage of his being, from his baptism in early infancy until he is passed

forward to the great future, with the anointing of the Church upon him as his passport into the Paradise of the faithful. This system, if accepted with the requisite credence, answers all possible requirements for the soul's future; and after a trustful compliance with the commands of the Church the individual needs nothing more.

And yet even the Church of Rome recognizes the great value of religious zeal and enthusiasm, and she has her well-ordered methods for its promotion. Earnest and inflammatory sermons are delivered to eager crowds at the great festivals, or on saints' days; pretended miracles are wrought in the sight of the people, as in the cases of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, or the sacred waters of numerous miraculous fountains. In Protestant Churches and countries a similar need of spiritual quickening has been recognized; but in those in which the authority of the State has been dominant it has been found very difficult to provide for the necessity; and accordingly either the most lamentable decay of spirituality has occurred, as in the State Churches of the European continent, or else there has been a wide-spread dissent and separation of the more spiritual from the national Church, as in Great Britain. It has accordingly become the accepted conviction of nearly all our religious bodies, that for the maintenance of successful Church life and the power of religion among the people, there must be special efforts made specifically for that purpose.

It is to be noticed, that from the Roman Catholic "missioner" to the Protestant evangelist, the truths and doctrines chiefly relied upon to give pungency and force to their appeals are substantially the same. They remind the people that they are lost sinners, and as such they are exposed to perdition; that Christ died for them, and that they may be saved through him, and that their only way of escape is by taking hold upon him. It is agreed by common consent that Christ crucified is the burden of the Gospel to sinful men; but in respect to how that great theme shall be presented there is not so much unanimity; and yet, perhaps, the dissent is more in form than in substance. The Romanists use the outward sign of the cross—the crucifix—and pictures of the Man of sorrows, with his disfigured face, and of the "bleeding heart." Then they lead their devotees through their "stations," each a memorial of some event in the sad scenes of Christ's last sufferings. All this is entirely outward and realistic, addressed to the imagination, and ostensibly intended to bring the worshiper into communion with those sufferings. And some things not altogether unlike these may be detected in the imagery sometimes used by Protestant pietists and evangelists, especially in the language of subjective devotion, and more particularly in sacred poetry. The early Moravian hymns are conspicuous examples in point, in which are presented in painfully realistic forms Christ's "blood," and "nail-prints," and "wounds," and "bleeding side," with the manifest intent that these images shall be deeply wrought into the imagination. These things, if used only to a moderate extent, and very delicately, may, perhaps, be made to serve a good purpose, but their liability to abuse renders them on the whole of very doubtful utility.

And yet the fact that these things are laid hold of for a purpose by different classes of persons so widely separated, may suggest the thought that there must be something about them that commends them to the common religious consciousness. Since the religious element in man's nature responds to the thoughts and ideas thus presented, it ought to be possible to utilize them for religious persuasion and edification. They seem to prove that the motives and methods that distinguish modern revivals have their source in man's spiritual consciousness, and therefore the religion induced by their use is normal, and its development capable of being rendered wholesome.

The revival and the work of religious culture are complementary parts of the system of Christian edification—the former especially reaching out toward the unsaved, and the latter seeking to perfect them that are of the household of faith. But the work is substantially the same in both its parts, and therefore every Christian pastor should be a revivalist as well as a pastor. The church is militant, and should be equally prepared for defense and offense—for the preservation of those that are saved and the rescue of those still held in captivity by the enemy; and failing of this latter duty, being shut up in its own strong tower, the church itself will become demoralized, weak, and sickly, and ready to perish. Revivals, being the normal fruits of healthy and vigorous Christian life, are needful to the church's well-being, and essential to its tone and spirituality, and its growth and prosperity.

Revivals are of two kinds—ordinary and extraordinary—those within the church and prosecuted under its direction, and those beyond and outside of the organic churches and led on by so-called irregular agents. The former are the results of the ordinary ministries of particular churches, with their stated services of worship and teaching and Christian communion; and whenever these are used with zeal and fidelity, believers will be edified and sinners converted, and such churches will be favored with occasional seasons of special spiritual fruitfulness. A living church is perennially a revival church, and yet special seasons of revival are needful alike for bringing the unsaved to Christ and for maintaining the required religious tone of the members of the church, and of the associate body as a whole. It is the privilege of any church to be always in a state of revival, and where that is the case there will usually be occasional visitations of grace resulting in special displays of converting and sanctifying power. There are in the spiritual as in the natural world alternations of seasons, with the early and the latter rains, seed-times and harvest-times, times to labor and to wait, and times to enter upon the recompense.

Extraordinary revivals often seem to contradict all human calculations, in respect to both the times of their occurrence and the agencies by which they are brought about. Beyond almost any other events or happenings in the affairs of religion, these appear to be especially and eminently displays of God's sovereign pleasure, and of divine power operating quite independently of all ordinary methods. The Reformation, with which the name and the career of Luther are inseparably associated,

was of this kind, coming, as it did, unasked for, and not desired by those who represented the organic Church, and yet proceeding in its course in a way to indicate the presence of a power above that of man, or any human agency. It was manifestly of God, in respect to both its time and its processes. Those who like to trace the workings of occult causes in the affairs of society sometimes attempt to find in certain great historical movements in Europe the secret springs of that great event, but all these come entirely short of the results that were brought to pass.

The great revival of the eighteenth century in Great Britain and America, which has become historical, and is known as "the Methodist," was also an extraordinary manifestation of divine power, operating independently of organized church agencies and despite their opposition. The secular historians of that period unite in depicting the moral and spiritual desolation of the time of its advent, when the churches of the land, both the established and the dissenters, were alike sunk down into spiritual lethargy and worldliness; and out of that darkness none but God could command the light to appear. It was, as in another case, declared by the prophet, "not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts." In such cases God seems to delight to display his sovereignty, and so to demonstrate the feebleness of man's power and his own superiority over even his own ordained methods. Such cases of wide-spread spiritual revolutions are conspicuous by reason of their breadth and magnitude; and yet others of the same kind, but in smaller proportions, are doubtless constantly occurring, because the living Christ is with his Church "always." In the practical business of soul-saving, and the bringing in the kingdom of heaven, the work itself is of more account than any of its methods or conditions; and while the Church and its ordinances are, and must continue to be, the usual channel and instrument of saving grace among men, it is well to remember that the divine Spirit has not gone into commission to a this-world corporation.

A well known and able writer, in the "*Presbyterian Review*" (Dr. C. A. Briggs), discussing certain features of the subject in hand, presents some significant thoughts, both pertinent and truthful, which we venture to transcribe and heartily indorse—with only a slight modification:

The course of religious history has shown more than once that, whenever the Church neglects to do the work of evangelization in a regular way, irregular and disorderly [that is, non-ecclesiastical] instruments are employed by the Holy Spirit, for the purpose, to humble the Church and expose its inconsistency. The Methodist movement [of the last century] was such an irregular movement. The New Light in America [disciples of Whitefield] shared in these irregularities. The Salvation Army and lay evangelists are such irregularities in our time. God has blessed them with marvelous success, notwithstanding their irregularities [perhaps because of them], because they have been doing the work which the Church neglected.

Our only modification to all this is, that we do not concede that only when the Church becomes flagrantly derelict will God make use of other and irregular agencies. The prophesying of Eldad and Medad was quite "irregular," and although the regular divine order was then in its

full activity their services were not condemned as either impertinent or uncalled for. It has always been the case that the Lord sends by whom he will; and probably such will still be the order of the divine administration.

The recent forward movements among us in revival work, in a quarter where such movements had formerly seemed to the last degree improbable, should be hailed as of good omen. It was perhaps too much to expect that the much despised name of "revival" should be accepted, and the more so as it had become an integral part of the vocabulary of the "sects;" and as mother Church (of Rome) had already rendered another word "canonical," it was quite natural to replace the malodorous term by one that had a more churchly odor; and so the revival meetings of "the Church" were styled "missions," and their evangelists "missioners." Nor will we be very greatly offended at what was written by an Episcopal clergyman, and printed in the "Independent," attempting to prove that the new "missions" are not at all the same with Methodist revivals; and in order to make that appear, these are utterly misrepresented and caricatured. Our charity inclines us to trust that this was the result of ignorance, though the evidence in that direction is not complete. We will not, however, complain of our churchly friends for their adoption and use, to a very limited extent, of methods that have been tried by others, less "regularly," perhaps, but to good purpose. Methodists have tested those methods and found them efficacious, but they have not patented them; and they do not complain that now they are adopted by some who have not before approved of them.

After all else, it is still a matter of the highest significance that the most effective agency for the promotion of revivals is the plain and earnest preaching of the great vital truths of Christianity. It was by the earnest proclamation of the doctrine of justification by faith *alone* that Luther and his coadjutors, under God, broke the death-spell that had so long rested on the Church of the Middle Ages. The same doctrine, with the additional item of the witness of the Spirit, contributed the talismanic power of the great Wesleyan revival. Jonathan Edwards was a most effective revivalist, not by virtue of his being a profound metaphysician, nor an earnest one-sided theologian, but because he told the people of their sins and of the fearful destiny of the unconverted. It is accordingly with great pleasure that we have noticed that those who have been among us, seeking to increase the religious convictions and lives of the people, have made very free use of the great central truths of the Gospel—sin, repentance, faith in Christ, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost. In these particulars, it may be that some others might learn a valuable lesson, and find an example deserving to be imitated. It may be about time to replace the ditties and doggerels by words of sound and substantial Christian truth, which may, indeed, be unpalatable to those whose spiritual tastes have become vitiated, but will prove, wherever accepted, powerful to save the soul.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE MISSIONARY CAUSE.

It is doubtless true that no other subject at this time excites so large a share of interest among evangelical Christians as the cause of missions to non-Christian peoples. It is also true that that interest is not always expressed in the form of approvals and words of cheer to those engaged in the promotion of that work, but often the case is quite the opposite. Nor is that fact either strange or any cause of discouragement, and were it even more earnest and pronounced than it is, it would still indicate a new interest that would, it might be hoped, eventuate in good. The missionary cause requires for its success that it shall be taken up and carried forward by the whole body of the members of the Church, and not wholly nor chiefly by those who hold certain official positions. Any awakening of a new interest, even if it expresses itself in criticisms, suggests the probability of an increased sense of duty and responsibility, which may lead to more earnest action.

The work of Christian missions has passed beyond the stage of mere experimenting, and its feasibility and effectiveness are demonstrated by its results; and now the question returns to the Church, and to the every Christian, What are the duties that are devolved upon each one by the existing and well ascertained facts of this case?

But all who understand the case very well know that what has thus far been accomplished has only served to open the way for further and greatly enlarged activities. In all evangelical Christendom the work of missions is still in its infancy. But it is cause for devout gratitude that it exists at all, and that because it is of God its growth and success are assured. And that it will, in the not remote future, attain to proportions very greatly in advance of any thing seen in the past, is not simply a dream of hope based on prophecies and aspirations, but the logical and assured outcome of the agencies already at work and of the progress already made.

The whole world's history, in all its departments, is made up of eras and epochs; for although the forces that fashion affairs may be always in action, matured results are by no means uniformly developed. There are times and tides in all the affairs of the world, and eminently so in those of the kingdom of God, and it is the part of wisdom to take advantage of these—to make hay when the sun shines, and to row when the tide favors. The latter half of the eighteenth century witnessed the great Methodist revival, which it is now conceded not only produced a wide-spread religious awakening, but also has permanently raised British Christianity to an unprecedented spiritual elevation. During the early years of the nineteenth century this new life began to manifest itself in increased thought and concern for the extension of Christ's kingdom throughout the world, and for the salvation of those who were without the preached Gospel; and each succeeding decade has intensified that interest, until now in these later years of the century the cause of missions has become

a broad and deep current of spiritual power. The whole Church has been brought face to face with this work; with its manifest claims upon the active sympathies of all who have any share of the spirit of Christ; so that not without the most flagrant unfaithfulness can the Christian world hesitate to engage in a work so obviously of God.

Men are accustomed to recognize those movements of society and of nations which, because of their magnitude, seem to be above and beyond human agencies, as especially providential; and to judge by their tendencies and results what may be the will of God in respect to things affected by them. It is a common remark that our times have been especially fruitful of changes; and it is safe to say, that those wrought in society and governments since the last decade of the fifteenth century have exceeded in their significance any that had occurred in the whole world previous to that date; and of these, in respect to manifested results, the present century has contributed more than all before, and by them the aspects and the conditions of the cause of missions have been largely modified, and its work rendered more practicable. A hundred years ago religious intolerance was the ruling policy among the nations of the whole earth. Each kingdom or country had its own religious system, and would grant very scant toleration to any other; and because each sovereign was accounted the guardian of the faith and worship of his subjects, all who might presume to hold, and still more to propagate, any other religion was accounted as offenders and treated accordingly. But all this is now past, for there is scarcely a nation under the sun into which the Gospel may not be brought without serious hinderance; or if some remote regions appear to be still shut up, it is quite certain that sooner than all the places that are now asking for the Gospel shall be occupied all others will have become accessible. It is not easy to fully appreciate the significance of these changes in respect to the work of universal evangelization. Christ's promised presence with his disciples, while they should go forth to "teach the heathen," is quite as clearly manifested in the secular affairs of the world as in the spiritual. The Head of the Church is also "the head of all principality and power;" and he is very evidently and effectively preparing the way for the preaching of the Gospel, by compelling even the wrath of man to praise him.

The divine authority which constituted Cyrus—the heathen—the anointed of the Lord for the benefit of God's people, and which raised up Constantine to bring the Roman world into subjection to Christ, is still active in the same kind of work. The promise given primarily to Solomon—which belongs pre-eminently to Christ, "great David's greater Son"—that all the kings of the earth shall bring presents, is being accomplished in our sight. So, too, all the vast appliances of modern civilization are working together to forward the will of God in the universal spread of the Gospel. Learning, the arts and sciences, travels and discoveries, commerce, diplomacy and war, even when most iniquitous, are all made to subserve the same great design. These things very clearly indicate that the great Leader of the Church in her work of conquest is pre-

paring the way that his people may go up and possess the whole world for Christ. This is, therefore, God's time for aggressive action by the Church, and happy will it be for her if she shall know her day of visitation.

Among the great facts of our times none is more remarkable than the unprecedented increase of wealth, especially in the two greatest Protestant nations of the world. This is also largely the property of Christian men, and as a whole it is subject to a considerable share of Christian influences. It is not necessary that a man shall be a model Christian before he can be used to forward God's purposes for the upbuilding of his kingdom, for then the work would fail for lack of laborers; nor is it necessary that the motives that actuate men in that service shall always be such as God can approve, for in all ages and dispensations he has been accustomed to employ the unrighteous in his service, and to overrule to his own glory and to the furtherance of his purposes not only the mixed and imperfect motives of good men, but also the designs and efforts of the selfish and ungodly. And in the use of such agencies the Divine Providence has been gathering the requisite stores for the prosecution of his work; and he has made those to whom he has intrusted property the custodians of his provisions, who should not forget that all they have belongs to the Lord.

The two apparently contradictory commands given by Christ, at different times and among different conditions—the one, that the disciples should, in going forth to proclaim the coming of the kingdom of heaven, “take nothing for their journey,” and the other, that they should provide in advance the things needful for their mission, are still in force, and they are both as applicable as at first. The duty is, indeed, laid upon all to whom the Gospel is preached to provide for the temporal needs of God's ministers; but in the case of those to whom the Gospel is preached, but by whom it is not yet received, such provisions are of course not available. To meet this necessity, therefore, the Divine Providence has richly endowed his people and Churches with the wealth of this world; and now his command comes to them to bring of the abundance of the rich, and permitting even the children of poverty to share in the blessedness of giving, by accepting and glorifying the “two mites” of the poor widow. Among the requirements of our times for the promotion of Christ's cause among men, is a deeper and more constraining sense of the religious obligations that accompany the possession of property. Only by its devotion to that purpose can the great body of Christians do any thing directly for the Christianization of the heathen world; and yet in that great work, which fills the heart of the ascended and glorified Christ, all may and should rejoice to have a part.

THE MISSION OF METHODISM AND METHODIST MISSIONS.

These two phrases have a verbal and alliterative likeness, but they are wholly distinct in signification; and though in both couplets almost the same form of words is used, they are specifically dissimilar in sense. And yet the two things designated are much more nearly related than even their verbal similarity indicates. It will not be questioned by any who has any just appreciation of the subject, that Methodism began its course not as a purposeless impulse, but as an agency of Providence for the working out of a design, which was none the less real and also harmonious in its parts and purposes because it was but partially understood by even its chief agents, who evidently "buildd better than they knew." Methodism, now recognized as one of the most remarkable facts in the progress of modern Christianity, began its career with its history enfolded in itself. It was a renewal in spirit of the apostolic commission to preach the Gospel to every creature, which came to its agents in the form of an authoritative impulse to labor for the promotion and diffusion of "scriptural holiness" to the largest practicable extent.

In itself, original and inorganic Methodism was simply the spiritual life in the regenerated soul manifesting itself in evangelistic activities, with its movements originating in its own appropriate agencies. In respect to its vitality it was of the Church—for in that is included all truly regenerate souls—and yet it could not be constrained within ecclesiastical limitations. The range of its commission reached out to all the race, and its methods were simply the results of spiritual impulses regulated by common sense, and not constrained in its activities by ecclesiastical "red tape." These, of course, would vary in their details according to outward conditions; and yet wherever the practical purposes are the same there will be a likeness of methods.

In this country organic Methodism came to occupy waste places, and so to develop itself with only the least outward constraint. It went forth in response to the calls made, in ignorance of their own souls' wants, of those who were pining and dying for lack of spiritual sustenance. Its organism increased with its spiritual development; and it grew into an ecclesiasticism because that is according to the natural tendencies of the religious life in individual souls; and thus it was that American Methodism, which at the beginning was scarcely at all organic and wholly non-ecclesiastical, grew into a complete and closely compacted system. It came into form, not as any man had designed it, but by a normal process of development, in which its providential designs became manifest, and at the same time its vast possibilities appeared. It was, first of all, a revival—a renewal into conscious spiritual life of individual souls—quickenened and "strangely warmed" by the Holy Spirit; and as it thus began with the manifestation of the righteousness of faith, so its mission became also manifest—to promote "scriptural holiness" by the preaching of Christ crucified and the use of the appropriate means for religious

culture. This is the mission of Methodism; and out of this has been brought forth the missionary work of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which is, in fact and substance, older than its own organized missionary agencies. Its whole ecclesiastical machinery was at first essentially missionary in character, and its operations were largely those of a home missionary society, projected for universal aggression, and designed to find its material sustenance in the fields that might be occupied. Like the Seventy sent out by Christ to preach the coming of the kingdom of God to none but "the lost sheep of the house of Israel," and therefore to go without "purse or scrip," so these went forth without any provision for their support, and, like them, they "wanted nothing."

But the mission of Methodism is to all men, and so should its arrangements contemplate and provide for the widest possible extension of the agencies of the Gospel. For a time the earliest preachers of the Gospel confined their operations to the chosen people, and not until the Gospel had been preached in all their land was its wider extension called for. So when the Methodist itinerancy had occupied the settled parts of the country, its spirit and mission called it to go forth to parts where the Gospel had not been preached—to penetrate to the remotest outposts, and to follow the emigrants to the distant frontier, and to seek out the spiritually destitute every where. When, a little later, a migrating company went out to found a colony in Africa, that colony became a Methodist mission; and when the red men, beyond the Rocky Mountains, sent messengers to inquire after the white man's religion, it was accepted as a call to send them the Bible and the preacher. When immigrants from the nominally Christian and Protestant countries of Europe—Teutonic or Scandinavian—coming under the influence of the Spirit through the word preached by our ministers were converted, and afterward, revisiting their native lands, kindled among their kindred the fires that burned in their own hearts, and thence sent out the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us," to comply with the invitation seemed to fall within the legitimate mission of Methodism. It may, however, be questionable whether the large gifts of money that have been made to the churches in these countries are in harmony with the Pauline methods of Christian propagandism. In such ways the divine hand has seemed to be enlarging the area in which the spirit of Methodism may operate to fulfill the mission given to it in the spirit in which it was begotten; and so has the mission of Methodism been forwarded by the establishment and maintenance of Methodist missions.

In another place we have referred to the wonderful changes that have, within the near past, taken place in the world's affairs, by which the opportunities for the preaching of the Gospel to every creature are greatly enlarged. These facts have a very manifest bearing on the question of the divine purposes, and also in respect to the duties of the Methodist Episcopal Church in relation to them. It was not by a merely happy coincidence, coming by chance, that the development of Methodism as a vast army of aggression, and the breaking down of the barriers by which

the nations had so long shut out the Gospel, should occur simultaneously; it is, on the contrary, very obvious that the divine providence, which always waits upon the outgoings of the Spirit, had in this case opened to the Church, in which the Spirit had awakened a holy zeal for the extension of Christ's kingdom and the salvation of souls, a way of access to the nations that sit in darkness and the shadow of death. And if God has so prepared the way, does he not also, by his promise, say to his people, as he on an important occasion said to Moses: "Speak to the children of Israel that they go forward?" It would seem to be very difficult to think of conditions that could more clearly indicate the will of God, or more forcibly suggest a present duty, than are seen in these arrangements, under the divine hand, of the affairs of the Church and the world respecting the work of Christian missions. The prophetic imagery of the seventy-second Psalm, which the Church with great unanimity interprets as applying to Christ and the progress of his kingdom, seems to be receiving its fulfillment in our day, in form as well as in substance. On the one hand the accomplishment of the promise of universal dominion appears to be at hand; and, as preparatory to this, we see on the other the kings of the earth bringing their gifts, and the rulers of the peoples worshipping before Him and proffering their gifts and services. These things are highly significant—telling us what our duty is, and giving assurance of the abundance of the recompense with which the Head of the Church will reward his faithful ones.

It is simply in working out its specific mission—to spread scriptural holiness through all lands—that the Methodist Episcopal Church has proceeded to its present stage in the founding of foreign missions. It could have done no less without coming short of its peculiar calling. Nor dare we claim that it has done all that should have been done; and yet it is not wise to fail to duly estimate what has been effected. To-day the sun in his circuit round the earth shines unceasingly on Methodist meeting-houses, where prayer and praise as daily offerings ascend to heaven. Broad and deep foundations for Christ's kingdom have been laid among those who have hitherto seemed to be farthest removed from the Gospel. In China, four central points have been entered and are occupied, with the institutions of Christianity largely operated by a native ministry, and thus the Church itself has become naturalized in the land. In Japan, where, contrary to the assumption of the prophet a great nation is seen actually changing its gods, our missionaries are earnestly co-operating in helping forward that marvelous transformation, and fashioning the new religious life of the people into the spirit and working methods of "Christianity in earnest." And now even Korea, the "Hermit Nation," opens its ports to our missionaries, apparently waiting to hear and receive the message of salvation. In India whole provinces, races, and castes have come under the influence of our missions, and Christian institutions have become naturalized among the millions of the land.

A fact of special interest in the affairs of these missions is their increased productiveness, within the recent past, over all former rates of progress.

The growth of the work, in manifest results, during the last ten years, has probably been quite equal to all that had before been gained, and the assured influences which cannot be reckoned up and written down have evidently been greatly multiplied, and are steadily maturing, and will soon be manifested in a still larger rate of increase. It is also significant that it is among heathen nations that the noblest victories have been won and the richest spoils gathered; and the promise of the outlook seems to be, that what has been achieved is but the beginnings of what will soon be witnessed—that these are only the first-fruits of an abundant harvest. The sight that is now presented to all who have eyes to see, of the onward march of the Gospel, each division moving under its own leader, and all led on by the common Captain of our salvation to possess the world for Christ, is indeed sublime and very full of promise. And in proportion to their denominational loyalty, all Methodists will rejoice that their own division of this grand army is rendering effective service.

Just now the whole world of evangelical Christendom, and our own Church especially, are waiting in earnest expectation—in faith and hope—not unmixed with solicitude, for the outcome of one of the grandest missionary enterprises of modern times—that which Bishop William Taylor is leading into the heart of the African continent. Whatever may be the results of that movement, its conception and its prosecution thus far have been not only sublimely heroic, but so conducted as to give increasing assurances of its ultimate success. Whether or not he who has undertaken that marvelous enterprise, and those who have become his co-workers, shall prove equal to the work, awaits the verdict of the future; but there is very little room for doubt that the theory upon which the enterprise is projected is the only one upon which missions to the "Dark Continent" can be successfully prosecuted. The theory on which the work proceeds is, that the Church at home must aid the outgoing missionaries to reach their fields of labor, and help in their sustentation while preparing for their work; but as was the New Testament rule at Corinth, so in all other cases, it is best for all parties that Christian missionaries and pastors shall find their temporal support among those for and among whom they labor.

But as was the case at first, so is it still—the chief field of our Church's aggressive activities is at home, and here have been won its largest fruits; and the resultant spiritual benefits of this work, in the increased robustness of its spirituality, is its richest recompense. It is only just to make due account of the work actually done, and the results achieved by the home missionary agencies of the Methodist Episcopal Church in its own field. During the life-time of the present generation, in addition to making good the depletion of its numbers by death, and the multiplication of its members fourfold, it has reconstructed or built anew its ten thousand houses of worship; established, at large expense, its hundreds of schools and colleges; and has begun to do something toward founding asylums and hospitals, and other purely charitable institutions. As a new body of Christians, without antecedents or inherited wealth or prestige, it had to begin

without material capital, and therefore all its possessions were to be created; and so whatever has been achieved has been its own work. And its accumulations have been made not by the aid of copious fountains and flowing rivers, but from the dews and the rain-falls of penny collections and small gifts; for it must be said—and the confession is made without any sense of self-depreciation—that, as in the Apostolic Church, so in Methodism, “God chose the poor as to the world to be rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom.”

The financial record of the Methodist Missionary Society, though not as good as it might have been, is nevertheless an honorable one; and its recent advancements render its outlook altogether assuring. Its system of operations is at once simple and effective. Depending, as has always been the economy of the Church for the support of all its services, almost wholly upon the voluntary gifts of the people, it has found that resource at once moderately liberal and remarkably steady and reliable. So certain has its annual income become that it may be safely discounted from year to year. To do this has been the policy of its administration, and in nearly every case the Church has honored the drafts that have been made upon it. And what is still better, the increase from year to year has been uniform, and in a greater proportion than the numerical growth of Church members. Estimating by the past five years, during which time the annual income has been increased by about a quarter of a million of dollars, or nearly fifty per cent. over that of the like term next before it, and trusting, as we may, that a similar growth will continue—and it may be hoped that much more will be done—it is not difficult to see that the year which will reach the “million line” is not very far in advance. To hasten it somewhat by bringing the cause home to the convictions and the consciences of the people, not omitting also to appeal to their devout enthusiasm, is no doubt at once practicable and of wholesome tendency. But the “million line” is much less a goal than a mile-stone, which may mark the progress made, but not afford a resting-place; for still it must be remembered that “there is very much land to be possessed.”

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

THE EDICT OF POTSDAM. — A great deal has been lately said by the French Huguenots, at the commemoration of the second centennial of the Edict of Nantes, concerning that great event. But the Germans have taken occasion to say at the same time not a little about its counterblast, the Edict of Potsdam.

Three weeks after the publication of the infamous revocation in Paris of an “irrevocable” edict, the great Elector of Prussia, Frederick William, issued his edict from Potsdam offering to all the French Protestants who proposed to emigrate to other lands a safe and free retreat to his prov-

inces. He also bids his agents in Hamburg and Frankfort-on-the-Main to assist all the fugitives coming by way of Holland and Switzerland, and offer them equal privileges with his own subjects as to churches, courts, and schools. The significance of this measure is evident when we consider the powerful position of Louis XIV. at that period, and his ability to aid the Romish propaganda of the last Stuart on the throne of England. As the Revocation of the Edict was the crowning work of the age of persecution from the Church, so was this decree from Potsdam the great measure that finally gave to the Protestant forces their superiority.

The Elector complimented the French monarch for his defense of his religion, and diplomatically remarked that his example would be a good one for him to follow as to his own. This neat piece of sarcasm broke the bands that had united the two rulers, when Frederick William became the soul of the league against Louis XIV., and at his death his mantle fell on the noble and valiant William of Orange.

A half a million of refugees left France—the very flower of the kingdom—and 20,000 of these went to the then Province of Prussia, and formed some fifty congregations in various places, by far the largest in Berlin itself. Nobody will deny that highly important influences resulted from this emigration, which was of very great advantage to Prussia in many respects. These French refugees became the virtual founders of German culture and intelligence, raising all its interests, such as skillful manufacture, general industry, gardening, and agriculture, to their highest development. But these exiles did the most for their adopted fatherland in teaching it stern discipline in matters of faith and loyalty to God and humanity. Through them the Protestant spirit was strengthened and the evangelical faith thoroughly grounded. For a time they maintained their individuality, while impressing their brand on the generation; but after a time all barriers fell, and natives and strangers coalesced. About the middle of the last century a still closer attachment led on to the new birth of Prussia and the abolition of all special privileges for their descendants. But there are still small French congregations both in Berlin and Hamburg that act as reminders of the great event.

THE ANTI-SEMITIC CONFLICT seems to have reached its culmination in Germany, and is now evidently waning. As we look back over the fierce struggles of the last four years, we are inclined to affirm that all the public and inflammatory meetings, all the violent collisions between Jews and Christians, have been of no avail for the purpose intended. At the present moment the Jews are really better off than they were at the opening of the conflict. One sign of dissolution among the antagonists of the Jews is found in the extinction of many of the violent sheets that were for a time issued against them, and the departure of their conductors. Most of these anti-Semitic leaders were men of no standing in the community, and were known as destructives, to whom any ruin offered the chance of some improvement. These men tried to use the influence gained in the turbid waters to raise them to political power. The one

man who, perhaps, with really good, patriotic, and Christian intent led in the movement, soon shrunk back from the elements that he had aroused, and turned toward the Christian social agitation.

But while this excitement is evidently a thing of the past in Germany, it appears to be for the nonce on the increase in Austria, most probably to go through the same course and have the same end. In Vienna a few antagonists of the Jews have been sent to the parliament, as have a few of the leaders against the Jews in Bohemia. The antipathy in Austria seems to have been greatest among the students, who have refused to the Jews admission to their fraternities. It was indeed so for awhile in Germany, but the antagonistic spirit in the universities of Germany is now dying out.

On the whole, therefore, the Jews are getting the better of their opponents, and are satisfied with the situation; for which reason their sheets are more moderate in their expressions as to the Germans. The result of the agitation was to cause a few faint-hearted Jews to go over to Christianity; but this move has been counteracted by the transition of about as many Christians, or so-called Christians, to Judaism. And the fact is apparent that the Jews are by no means humbled by their troubles, but are, on the contrary, more energetic in their self-assertion, and more compactly united among themselves than ever before.

They are now, therefore, having their turn in laying their claims to recognition and respect before the world. A learned rabbi, in a recent publication on "Woman among the Jewish People," declares that the world owes monogamy to the Jews; and further says, that the modern position of woman has been grounded by the Jewish woman, who has really emancipated the whole feminine world. "The Jewish woman is, without any romanticism, incomparably good and self-sacrificing; and any one of them who would, among other nations, pass as middling good, would be classed among the Jews as bad." All these facts will doubtless bring the Germans to the consciousness of the great fact of the existence of the Jewish question as a permanent one, and will teach them that it demands, and must have, a different treatment from that which has hitherto been accorded to it. The Christian Church must approach it in a Christian spirit, and must adopt methods very different from those of mere agitators.

LIBERALISM IN SWITZERLAND is giving rise to grave apprehensions. A few weeks ago, in Geneva, there was held a conference of pastors, numbering about two hundred. On that occasion Prof. Bouvier, of Geneva, delivered his much-discussed lecture on "Sin," in which he, with much talent and his peculiar eloquence, reproduced in a new form and defended the old Pelagian doctrine. But there was fortunately no one in the entire assembly who defended his brilliantly presented theories. On the contrary, Professors Godet of Neuchâtel, Bois of Montauban, and Presensé of Paris came forward with thorough and exhaustively elaborated refutations.

Bouvier and two other professors at the National Theological School do obedience to Liberalism, and much interest was for that reason elicited in the election of a successor to Louis Segond, the well-known Bible translator. And what many feared took place. Edward Montet, a young savant who rejects "all positive and supernatural revelation," was elected professor of Hebrew, and thus the theological faculty of Geneva has four Liberal professors out of five. The condition of the Free Church faculty of Lausanne is, however, more gratifying. There are fifty-four students in attendance, of whom thirty-four are from the Canton Vaud and the remainder belong to French Switzerland and France. There is also a faculty of the Free Church in Neuchâtel that began its winter semester with about thirty hearers. In these latter institutions, at least, sound gospel doctrine is taught.

Now the moral status of Switzerland seems not to gain by this inroad of so-called Liberal ideas, if figures tell the truth. According to statistics Switzerland, with a population of 2,900,000, consumes yearly not less than 27,000,000 quarts of alcoholic liquors, 100,000,000 quarts of beer, and 2,000,000 quarts of wine. In the last thirty years the consumption of foreign wines has largely increased, and from year to year all alcoholic liquors, as well as beer, are more and more consumed. But the worst feature is the fearful increase in the use of brandy, which in thirty years has increased from 7,500,000 to 27,000,000 quarts annually. The sad effects of this most immoderate use of spirituous liquors show themselves very clearly. In the three largest hospitals of the land the number of those who there die through strong drink wavers from fifteen to thirty-seven per cent. In six years, aside from suicides and murders, over fifteen hundred persons are reported as dying from the direct effect of alcohol. In 1883 forty per cent. of the men and twenty-three per cent. of the women in the prisons were recorded as hard drinkers by profession. In the draft for the army forty per cent. of the young men are rejected because of the effects of alcohol on their systems. With this fact staring them in the face we submit that the Swiss are a deal too liberal.

THE PONTIFF AS ARBITRATOR in diplomatic disputes is rather a unique event, and nowhere more than in Italy has there been much surprise at the fact that he should sit in judgment between Germany and Spain on the subject of the Caroline Islands. The Italian press is greatly exercised at the bearing of this new move. And every one acknowledges that since the "captivity" began no honor has been accorded to the present Pope so marked as is this. And this honor is so much the greater that it comes from that arch-enemy of the Vatican, the German Emperor. The question is sarcastically asked, "Whence comes to him the knowledge and judgment of certain questions of law or justice that concern the relation of nation to nation?" Certain Italian journals prophesy again, sarcastically, that the rule of peace is approaching, in which the arbitrator of the Vatican will settle all international questions, and when standing armies and fleets and armature will be superfluous. Other sheets say that Spain and

Germany, in thus applying to the Pope, have no special desire to offer him an honor, but rather to be served by him. They would avoid war, and therefore apply to the Pope. But why to him rather than to a worldly prince? They would never have come to Cardinal Pecci had he not become Leo XIII. The Vatican is, therefore, undoubtedly in the right when it sees in this event a special honor to the Pope and his position.

This high distinction from abroad to the chair of St. Peter came at an opportune period for the Vatican, which of late has been overmuch burdened with cares, for it is just now much in need of increased income, and would draw the funds from every church and altar that may, perhaps, more liberally contribute because of the prouder position of the holy Father. The organ of the Vatican exclaims, rejoicingly: "The events of preceding centuries are now renewed, when the popes were made arbitrators in international feuds; these popes, so mild toward the weak, so energetic against the strong, and so yielding toward those who yield."

And it seems that to Bismarck belongs all the honor of the initiative in this matter, and he doubtless did it with a well-outlined *arrière pensée*. He knew well that he would not lose his case without in some way gaining an equivalent for it. But just what this is the Germans do not yet see, though the case seems to be settled rather to the disadvantage of Germany. The German ultramontane organ thinks that Bismarck demanded the decision of the Pope as the basis of a new article on international laws; while the "Diritto" of Italy declares, that if the question of the Carolines has a political side, then it follows that Germany has acceded to the Pope a political and worldly character, which may induce him to renew certain ambitions in the line of ruling the world. The opinion of an earlier Italian minister, Signor Bonghi, is, that the event proves that Leo XIII. has in the entire civilized world that reputation for impartiality and knowledge which was also found in Benedict XIV. These various *pros* and *cons* in the two nations here represented clearly show that the *quidnuncs* are muddled, and that the Chancellor alone knows his own heart.

BISMARCK AND THE POLES seem to be having quite a struggle, in which the Chancellor is inclined to banish a goodly number of these troublesome subjects. The trouble between the parties lies very deep, for it is a well-known fact that the famous *Kulturkampf* had its origin in the Prussian province of Posen, and mainly in the school question. The Germans want to introduce their own language into the schools and the courts, and this measure was bitterly contested by the famous Polish cardinal of that diocese, Ledochowski. The political mission of Germany seemed to be in danger, as the Poles are the irreconcilables every-where—even up to the parliament itself, where the Poles vote steadily against all government measures, with no apparent regard to the principles concerned. In order to cure this malady it was thought best to commence with the rising generation.

This has not always been done with tact and skill, and the result is greater irritation than before, so that the Teutonic and the Polish elements

are now in direct antagonism. The names of places were changed, and even of streets, into others of German origin—a measure which seems entirely too severe for the comparatively small number of the opposing forces. The result is, that the parents enforce the language on their children at home, and use it with intensity wherever they can. And then came the religious antagonism, which has now proceeded so far that Polish and Catholic are synonymous, as are German and Protestant; in this way the strife has become doubly embittered, being one both of religion and nationality. Now, for the Roman Catholic Poles the German language is not only a foreign one, but also is heretical, and the children are taught to believe that God will not hear the prayer of a Pole in the German tongue. It was quite natural that Polish priests should indorse this, to them, acceptable doctrine, and thus began the fierce struggle between Bismarck and the Polish Cardinal, which finally extended to the whole German land. It is questionable whether the results of the conflict compensate for its cost and labor.

THE BALTIC PROVINCES OF RUSSIA are in great consternation at what they consider an infringement on their treaty rights regarding language and religion, as well as general government. In Livonia and Courland the Russian police system has been introduced, as is feared with all its usual corruption and bribery, and especially with its language, by far the greater part of the inhabitants being Germans by origin and speech. But still greater is the alarm for their religion, which is also in danger. When the Germans settled in these provinces, at the request of the Russian government, it was with a distinct provision that they might retain their German tongue and their Lutheran religion. And this was reassured to them by a command of his majesty, Emperor Alexander II. in 1865 in the matter of marriages between Protestants and the orthodox Greeks.

But of late years great efforts have been made to entice the Germans over into the Russo-Greek Church by means of advantages offered to all those going over into the State Church. These enticements, in the line of lighter taxes and better school and church privileges, have been so effective that in one province some five thousand have left the Lutheran for the Greek Church. As a characteristic means of forwarding this propaganda, it is now announced that a Russian shrine which was nearly finished, in the form of a handsome cathedral, will not be completed because of the strong Protestant feeling in that district. This movement means the stoppage of all pilgrimages to that region, and the consequent decline in material prosperity; in short, the destruction of nearly all business interests in the place. In view of these encroachments on their rights, at a recent session of the local assembly of Livonia it was resolved to draw up a respectful petition to the emperor for the restoration and preservation of that liberty of conscience granted and guaranteed to their fathers. And also from Riga comes information of like excitement and movements. The peasantry there are quite alarmed at the situation, and present petitions, and beg a release from these encroachments on the liberty of conscience.

THE JEWS OF ROME are just now the objects of special interest because of a systematic effort of the city authorities to bring them out of their special quarters, so long their retreat, and cause them to commingle and live with the general community. Of all the cities of Europe, Rome was the first to offer a retreat to the Jews, where, from the period of Pompey down to the present day, they have found an asylum. For the last three hundred years they have resided in the particular quarter assigned to them, known as the Ghetto. Some time ago the authorities began to demolish certain sections of their retreat as a sanitary measure, because of the narrowness of the streets and the increase of filth and disease-breeding influences. In the immediate vicinity of the Tiber one entire street has disappeared, thus giving access to air and sunlight.

In a short time the Ghetto will be a thing of the past, and one of the most peculiar sights of Rome will be denied to the inquiring tourist, who will then be confined to a simple history of its past. The question has been raised, *apropos* of these changes, whether the Jews of to-day are to be regarded as the descendants of that colony which settled there under Pompey, and which Paul found there; and who saw the construction of the present arch of triumph raised by Titus in commemoration of the destruction of Jerusalem.

Most historians answer this question with a decided affirmative. The Jews of Rome have never mingled with its population, and have ever lived in the greatest isolation. And till this day they refuse to pass under the arch of Titus, which covers a noted thoroughfare, but studiously make their way around it. Even in their most favored condition, during the period of the empire, the deep aversion against them, as well as their own law, made it impossible for them to contract marriage with the heathen of Rome. In the Middle Ages, and down to our own time, they have been held in the deepest abhorrence, and have frequently been treated with the greatest cruelty by the Christian population. Pius IX. was the first to open the gates of the Ghetto at night, and since that period their condition has been gradually improving, and with the disappearance of the Ghetto will go much of their sorrow.

THE WALDENSIAN SYNOD recently convened in Torre Pellice, the headquarters of that interesting people. More than one hundred members were present, besides the guests from various Protestant Churches from abroad who came to greet the highest body of this revered Church of Italy. After the opening exercises four new workers were ordained, and in the course of the proceedings a very interesting report of the status of the body was read. From this it appears that there are at present seventy-four active workers—twenty in the seventeen parishes of the valleys, three at the Theological School in Florence, six in the college proper, thirty-five in evangelizing work, two in Italy, and one in Switzerland, working in connection with the committee on evangelization, two in the Grisons under control of the board, and one in the Bassuto-land in southern Africa as missionary of the Paris society, together with the four recently

ordained. Only two emeritus or superannuated preachers are supported by the Church.

In their Latin school at Pomeret there are 22 students; in the college, 60; and in the girls' school, 38. To these are to be added in the valleys, 202 teachers, male and female; and 5,047 scholars in 196 elementary schools. There are 98 Sunday-school teachers, with 280 assistants of both sexes, and 3,371 scholars. The communicants number 13,153, and the Church assessment in the valleys amounted to 71,774 francs. In the thirty years of the existence of the Theological School there have been 120 graduates, of whom 50 are now in the service of the Church, and at the present time 13 students are attending the theological lectures.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN RUSSIA seems to be quite a power, although it is oppressed in numberless ways by the State Church, which would gladly stamp it out. To aid in resisting these encroachments there was formed some twenty years ago a society for the support of Lutheran churches, whose first patron was Duke George of Mecklenburg. This fund has been generously aided, and has afforded great assistance to persecuted congregations. In some of the islands the numbers have been greatly reduced by the so-called conversions to the Russo-Greek Church. In Lithuania the Church has nearly disappeared under the combined opposition of the State Church, the Catholics, and the Jews. Some of the pastors who supply the outlying regions have the most exhausting labor; the one in Archangel takes with him prayer-books and catechisms in five different languages. In the Wolga district of 28 parishes, nine of these, with 84,000 souls, have no pastors. In Siberia there are but two Lutheran preachers, who virtually labor like galley slaves in order to do their work. And still, on the whole, their report is encouraging. There are in all Russia 457 dioceses, of which 214 receive aid from the source above mentioned. Pastors and teachers are thus sustained, and the Lutheran Church in the realm of the Czar thus holds its own against all the stamping-out process that is practiced against it.

MOABITE is the name of a settlement on the river Spree, below Berlin, whose appellation has been a mystery to many, and which has been lately solved by an historical investigator in a curious manner, as follows: It turns out that the original settlers of this colony were French refugees who came to this point after being driven from their own country at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This spot became to them a Land of Moab, as to those children of Israel who once sought that land as a safe retreat. This name shows how deeply were the Huguenots impressed with the old Bible story that they should thus draw consolation from its annals, and adopt a name that reminded them of some of the troubles of God's people. The situation is by no means a desirable one, and some have considered the name to mean rather an accursed land. But the memories of the present year of commemoration of the Revocation of the Edict have brought out the origin of the name.

CHRISTIAN ART has recently been enriched by some beautiful frescoes in the *aula* of the Princes Academy at Meissen, in Saxony, given to the institution by the king. Among these the most exquisite one is that of Luther and Melanchthon, which has lately been reproduced in an engraving. Luther and his friend are standing before their study table, on which is lying an open Bible, the right hand of Luther resting firmly on the book, and pointing to the device, "The Word shall stand." With the left hand he grasps a crucifix standing before him as if he would not let it go, while saying, "Let all else go, the kingdom of God must remain." The bearing of the man of God is free and bold. His mighty head, the most expressive of any produced by the modern school of art, is turned upward, while the portrait testifies of unbending courage and rock-like faith. In effective contrast to Luther are the wise and clear features of Melanchthon. Both figures are brought into clear relief.

THE LUTHER REVIVAL of the fourth centennial caused the good people of Berlin to declare that the capital of the German Empire should have a Luther monument to stand, as it were, under the protection of the first Protestant emperor of Germany. And they therefore bid all the artists of the Fatherland do their best and wisest for the production of a work worthy of the great reformer and the Protestant power of the period. Nearly fifty designs were handed in, and the number confused the jury, who know not how to decide. They give mild praise to all as testifying to the dignity of the man and the significance of the subject. But men ask one another in vain the question, "Which design has completely conquered you?" For the answer is: "*Not one.*" This is because the German people are looking for an ideal monument of Luther and the Reformation, which it is not easy for any artist to produce to perfect satisfaction. Above all, they are inclined to demand a man of God full of spirit and power rather than an excited orator.

THE SCATTERED JEWS have recently been brought together by a careful statistician of Marseilles, who thus enumerates them: The entire Jewish population of the earth amounts to 6,377,602. Of these, 5,407,602 are in Europe, 245,000 in Asia, 415,000 in Africa, 300,000 in America, 12,000 in Australia. In Germany there are 561,610; in England, 60,000; in Austro-Hungary, 1,643,708; in Belgium, 3,000; in Denmark, 3,946; in Spain, 1,900; in France, 70,000; in Greece, 2,652; in Switzerland, 7,373; in Holland, 81,693; in Italy, 36,289; in Luxemburg, 600; in Portugal, 200; in Roumania, 260,000; in Russia, 2,552,145; in Servia, 3,492; in Sweden and Norway, 3,000; in Turkey in Europe, 116,000. In Asia there are: in all Turkey, 150,000; in Persia, 15,000; in Asiatic Russia, 47,000; in Afghanistan, 14,000; in India and China, 19,000. In Africa: in Algiers, 35,000; Morocco, 100,000; Sahara, 8,000; Tunis, 55,000; Tripoli, 6,000; Abyssinia, 200,000; the Cape of Good Hope, 1,000; Egypt, 8,000. We spare our readers the subdivisions of this statistician's story. It certainly proves them to be pretty thoroughly "dispersed."

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

DEVELOPMENT IN JAPAN.—We lately wrote of the progress of the United Church of Christ in Japan. This Church, it will be remembered, was formed by a union of three missions: the American Presbyterian, the Scottish United Presbyterian, and the Reformed (Dutch). Each mission conducts its own work in its own way, drawing its support from its own Board; but missionaries, native ministers, and churches unite in presbytery, and the presbyteries in turn are united in a synod. This synod has just held its third meeting, under circumstances of a most favorable character. The meeting of the synod was held in Tokio, in a large hall (so sudden and startling are the changes in Japan) which was built for the purpose of opposing Christianity. Into this hall, in the capital of an empire which has been open to foreigners less than thirty years, was gathered more than a thousand persons at the opening session of a Christian organization. Many of them were probably not Christians, but they were all interested in this foreign religion, which, they are beginning to acknowledge, must ere long vanquish both Buddhism and Shintoism, and become the faith of the people. As spectators they preserved a quiet and respectful demeanor, having come, evidently, not to dispute or refute, but to listen and learn. There were none of the interruptions so common, two years ago, at the second meeting of the synod. This is an indication of change in public sentiment. The synod was in the hands of Japanese Christians. The missionaries were present and participated in the proceedings, but on the same footing as native ministers and elders. Last year a missionary, Dr. Verbeck, was moderator. This year he was succeeded by a native minister in that office, the Rev. Mr. Ogimi, a graduate of Rutgers College and of the New Brunswick Theological Seminary, in New Jersey. Mr. Ogimi presided with dignity and ability. The synod consisted of sixty-one ministers. It now represents 44 churches and 4,300 members. Two years ago there were 32 churches and 2,772 members. The largest church represented was the Kaigan Dori church of Yokohama, which has a membership of 287. This, we are told, was the first Christian Church organized in Japan, having been formed in March, 1872, with 12 members. At that time, however, it represented nearly all the active Christians in the empire. The synod received four new churches, and authorized the organization of a new presbytery in northern Japan, making four presbyteries in all. The synod listened to reports from the standing committee and to a narrative of religion from each of the presbyteries. Some of these reports and narratives were very interesting. One evening was set apart for the consideration of the best methods of promoting evangelistic work. On this question no one was heard with more attention than Rev. Mr. Oshikama, who is himself a successful evangelist. Three years ago, after having labored successfully in Nūgata, he went to Sendai, on the eastern coast, and began to labor there without help and with little encouragement. Without even pecuniary assistance he prose-

cuted his work so successfully that four independent and self-supporting churches have been organized, with upward of 200 Christians. These churches were received by the presbytery, and constituted, together with the church at Hakodati, the presbytery of northern Japan. Other instances of successful native labor were given, notably the following:

About one year ago, Mr. Itagaki (the former President of the Liberal Party) invited the Rev. Dr. Verbeck and others to go to Tosa and teach the people Christianity. The invitation was accepted, and preaching established in the city of Kochi. The most influential and educated men in that region attended these meetings, and a large company of inquirers was formed at once. Buddhism had had but a small following and influence in that section, and the minds of the people were ready to receive the doctrines of the Gospel when once convinced of their importance and truth.

The growth of Christianity having attracted the attention of the Buddhists some priests were sent down from Koba and Osaka to counteract the influence. But they were met by the educated young men of the place, and their arguments so completely answered that no effort was needed on the part of the Christian preacher to overcome their teachings or power.

The United Church seems to have attained to a high degree of self-support. All of the churches pay at least their current expenses, and sixteen wholly support their pastors. For two years the contributions for church purposes aggregate \$15,120, which is an average of about \$2 50 per annum for each member, or about \$12 as measured by American valuation. The missionaries have been very assiduous in educating the natives in the direction of self-dependence, and the native ministers and elders have caught the spirit, and are very earnest in endeavoring to bring the churches up to the standard.

The native Christians are also deeply concerned in the spread of the Gospel by native agency. One of the most important acts of the synod was the adoption, after a discussion occupying several hours of successive sessions, of a plan for a missionary board, to conduct evangelistic work in all parts of the empire, and also to take in charge the preparation of men for the ministry. It was decided that the Board should consist of ten native and ten foreign representatives, and the native churches are to contribute one fourth of the sum required for the purpose. The amount proposed to be expended is about \$9,000; and this will necessitate a contribution of about fifty cents per annum from each church member.

But what say the missionaries to all this native activity? For it means that the missionaries must in the future play a subordinate part. They must become less and less influential as the native Church increases. They are already far outnumbered. They say, according to Dr. Geo. William Knox, of the Tokio Theological Seminary, that it is just what they desire and have been working for. "More than ever before," we are told, "do the missionaries see the end of their labors, namely, the establishment of an efficient, self-supporting, self-propagating, earnest, devoted Presbyterian Church in Japan." Their aim has been to profit by native knowledge and experience of native needs and conditions, and also gradually to transfer responsibility to native shoulders, turning foreign missions into

home missions. The means to this end are being rapidly provided. No fewer than 34 young men are being prepared for the ministry in the Tokio Theological School. Two other missions, the Reformed (German) and the Southern Presbyterian, and perhaps also the Cumberland Presbyterian, are to join the United Church, which, as Dr. Knox believes, will have at the close of the century a membership of 50,000. He also thinks there will be a Congregational body of equal size, and also large Methodist and Episcopal Churches. The American Board began its work in 1869, and has pushed its policy of self-support even more successfully than the missions of the United Church. Of its 33 churches, eight of which were organized in the past year, 25 are reported as self-supporting. It is growing very rapidly, no fewer than 1,046 persons having been received the past year on confession of faith, the gain being at the rate of 55 per cent. The total membership is 2,856. Seventeen ordained missionaries are connected with the mission, with 27 native pastors and preachers. A theological class in Tokio contains 13 students. The general survey of the American Board speaks of the present as being "pre-eminently the day of destiny for Japan," acknowledges the "rare fidelity and skill" with which native pastors and evangelists have wrought, and declares that the "quality of Christian life shows an advance as marked as the gain in numbers, and even more encouraging." It concludes with the general observation, the truth of which no one will deny, that the "ease with which thousands can be gathered in mass meetings for the discussion of Christian themes, and the readiness with which theaters in all the principal cities are let for this purpose, and the wide demand for the Scriptures, are among the signs of the time that show the progress which Japan is making and emphasize the need of pressing forward our Christian work as rapidly as may be." The Japanese churches sent a letter of greeting to the American Board on the occasion of its seventy-fifth anniversary, in which they acknowledge with gratitude the blessings which have come to them through the services and sacrifices of the missionaries. They also say that this is the "day of grace for our nation," an opportunity "to be met once in a thousand years, and not to be expected again."

The mission of our own Church, begun in 1872, has shared in the general prosperity which Christian missions have had in Japan. At the date of our last annual report we had 1,152 members and probationers in connection with our mission, which is well manned and well planned. The past year must have brought hundreds of converts, for reports of revivals have come from the missionaries, and we may expect a much larger increase than in the previous year, when the number of conversions was returned at 244. The mission is so laid out as to embrace Kiu-tiu, the southern island, part of Yezo, the northern island, and a large part of Hondo, or central Japan. It has eight districts, and at the beginning of last year there were ten ordained native preachers, of whom eight were elders, and also twelve unordained preachers. It may be hoped that this action of the several Presbyterian bodies, in uniting their churches so as

to form a single ecclesiastical organization, will be imitated by the several Methodist missions, so that there will be a united Methodism throughout the empire.

Dr. Knox, from whose suggestive article in the January "Presbyterian Review" we have already quoted at considerable length, expects a Church of not fewer than 50,000 members for the United (Presbyterian) missions in 1900, "a Congregational Church of at least equal size, and also large Methodist and Episcopal Churches." At the end of 1884, the date of our latest returns (our annual report for 1885 has not at this writing, January 12, appeared), our mission had 1,152 members and the American Board 1,877. The Protestant Episcopal Church entered Japan in 1859. Its first baptisms were in 1866, having no more until 1872. At the close of the missionary year, June 30, 1885, the mission reported a total of 152 communicants, of whom 131 were native. The baptisms for the year numbered 81, exclusive of foreigners, 55 being adults and 26 children. The confirmations were in all 50. The mission has not grown rapidly, nor has that of the Church Missionary Society, though it has much larger results to show than the American Episcopal mission.

The readiness, and even eagerness, with which the Japanese welcome foreign ideas and customs and a foreign religion might seem to indicate fickleness of character. If they held with greater tenacity to their own institutions, like the Chinese, we might expect them, when they had accepted Christianity, to show a very strong attachment to it. But if they so quickly give up their own religions and their own civilization to accept a foreign civilization and a foreign religion, will they not in turn reject Christianity for some other faith which happens to catch their fancy? Such questions naturally suggest themselves; but we are assured by such competent observers as Dr. Knox that the Japanese are not a fickle people. Their enormous strides from a state of oriental and insular exclusiveness toward a wise, broad, and generous policy may be accounted for by a quality of character which Matthew Arnold describes by the word "lucidity." It is that faculty which is swift to detect ideas and institutions which have outlived their usefulness, and to put them aside. When Japan was opened to the commerce of the world, much against her own will, a stream of light came with the American and European ships, and she saw that she was far behind in the march of nations, and must discard much of the old if she would receive the new. But Japan is not a mere imitator:

Japan borrows, but does not surrender its independence. It stamps on its new possessions a character peculiarly its own, and often only diligent research reveals the foreign origin. Buddhism won final victory by accepting the native Shinto, and potent as is the influence of Chinese thought, it has found no servile imitator. The samurai, the knights, are the true exponents of Japanese character. To these men patriotism is the chief virtue; passionate love of country, complete devotion to their feudal lord, sums up their ethics. There is now no anti-foreign party in Japan, but still has Japan no thought of accepting a foreign yoke. She learns that she may rule. The foreigner is the employee, the counselor; he may teach, but must not command; and he has greatest influence and truest power who accepts this

fact. Japan will use the foreigner for a time, but will dispense with his services at her earliest convenience."

We have quoted from Dr. Knox at length because we believe his sentences give the key to the Japanese character, which cannot be too carefully studied by those who would find the quickest and best method of firmly establishing Christianity in Japan.

BURMAH AND THE BAPTISTS.—The opening of Burmah proper to commerce and missions, by the overthrow of King Thebaw's government and its annexation to the British empire, is one of the great events of the past year. The proclamation of annexation was published on the first day of the present year, and so cruel and despotic had been the rule of the king that no word of protest was uttered, either in Burmah or elsewhere, against the act of the British government. Fortunately the conquest cost but little comparatively, either in lives or money, and there is no organized force except of *Dacoits*, or robbers, to oppose British rule.

The Governor-General of India, under whose control the conquered State has been placed for the present, has the power to establish a stable government over the new Burmese subjects, and protect all who have occasion to visit or settle among them. To the Baptists it gives the opportunity, long coveted, to extend their missionary operations into northern Burmah; and other societies may also freely enter the new territory. Burmah, as is well known, is the oldest field of the American Baptist Missionary Union, and perhaps the most successful one. Since the days of Adoniram Judson, the founder of the Union's mission on Burmese soil, there has been a wonderful development of Christianity around the stations which he planted. Leaving out the stations of North Siam and Bhamo, the latter being in upper Burmah, the Baptists have twelve stations in the Burmese field, all in the narrow strip of land known as British Burmah. And connected with those stations are more than 500 out-stations, with 479 churches, 25,425 members, and 395 schools. The total of missionaries, including women and physicians, is only a hundred. Judson's policy, not to ask the natives for money for fear they might think he had come for their possessions and not their souls, has long been abandoned, and in no mission has the problem of self-dependence and self-support been more successfully worked out than in Burmah. Of the 479 churches, 308 are self-supporting, and there is a total of 514 native preachers, of whom 124 are ordained. There are besides no fewer than 707 active native workers in connection with the mission. The contributions for church, school, and general benevolent purposes aggregate nearly \$37,200. The population of Burmah is not, as is generally known, a homogeneous population, and the mission is under the disadvantage of being compelled to carry on its work among several different tribes—the Burmans, who claim a celestial origin and are the rulers of the country; the Karens, who dislike the Burmans; the Shans, who resemble the Siamese, the Ka Chins, and others. The Burman, however, is the language spoken by the body of the people, and in this most of the literature issued by the mission has

been published. A mission was opened in Bhamo, upper Burmah, on the Chinese border, a few years ago, and in 1884, three Chinese Shans, the first of their race to accept Christianity, so far as known, were baptized; converts were also made among the Ka-Chins; but the mission has been greatly interrupted by political disturbances, and last year was broken up. The annexation of Thebaw's kingdom removes the chief obstacles which kept Baptist missionaries out of upper Burmah, and now the desire is to enter the large and rich territory in force.

The only hinderance is, of course, want of money. We trust the Baptist churches will furnish the necessary funds, and missionaries, both foreign and Burman, be sent into this new missionary field. The time is not far distant when the whole of south-eastern Asia, from the Chinese border to the Straits of Malacca, will have become Christianized. The Presbyterians are meeting with wonderful success in Siam, and the Baptists have a strong hold on Burmah.

CO-OPERATION IN MISSIONS.—We have shown, in the article on "Development in Japan" in this issue, how a United Church of Christ in Japan has been organized by three Presbyterian bodies conducting missions in that empire, and how that native Church has grown in numbers, in self-dependence, and in aggressiveness. A similar movement was attempted in India some years ago, but without success so far. It is now about twenty-three years since an elder of the Church of Scotland advanced the idea that all the Presbyterian missions in India ought to unite to form a single Presbyterian Church for India. The missionaries had been thinking on the same subject, and eighteen months after the elder gave utterance to his views the Presbyterian Synod of Northern India, connected with the American Presbyterian Church, appointed a committee to correspond with the other Presbyterian missions in India. The correspondence proceeded slowly, but it led to a favorable expression from most of the missionaries, and to the holding of a conference in Allahabad in 1874. It had been decided that for the present no attempt would be made to form an organic union of the different missions, as it was supposed that the home Churches would not approve such a plan. Nothing more could be done than to constitute a voluntary alliance for fellowship and co-operation along practicable lines. The Presbyterian Alliance was, therefore, organized at Allahabad, and three meetings of the confederated council have since been held—in 1877, 1880, and 1883. These triennial conferences have, to some extent, been stimulating and healthful, but they were costly, and it was felt that so great an outlay in time and labor and expense ought to bring greater results than the unofficial character of the Alliance permitted; and the thirteen different missions represented resolved to petition the home Churches for authority to make the Alliance a court of appeal and supervision in matters relating exclusively to the native Church. The request was, however, granted by but few of the home Churches. The missionaries were disappointed, and, concluding that they had asked for too little, they resolved to ask for authority to

unite all the missions in one strong, homogeneous, self-governing "General Assembly of India." The Alliance is now waiting for the action on this proposition. The United, Free, Original Secession, and Established Churches of Scotland, the England Presbyterian, the Southern Presbyterian of this country, and the Reformed Dutch have signified their willingness that such an organic union should be formed in India, and it is believed that the rest of the Presbyterian Churches represented in India will give the required permission. The missions are ready, says Dr. Chamberlain, of the Reformed mission, and are "scanning the ground and planning for onward united action—evangelistic, educational, ecclesiastical—just so soon as the Church Assemblies at home shall grant permission to their missions in India to lock arms and form united presbyteries and synods—ready then with joy to merge the provisional Presbyterian Alliance of India into the Union Presbyterian General Assembly, that shall grow, as God shall lead it, into a strong, self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating national Church of Christ in India."

Dr. Chamberlain proposes four synods—Bombay, Bengal, Madras, and North India—these uniting in a General Assembly of India. The Bombay synod would contain four presbyteries and two missions, representing six churches; that of Bengal would have two presbyteries and two missions, representing four churches; that of Madras three presbyteries, besides the churches in Ceylon, representing four churches; that of North India seven presbyteries, representing four churches. Dr. Chamberlain told the American branch of the Committee on Missionary Co-operation, appointed by the Belfast Council of the Alliance of Reformed Churches, at a hearing recently given in this city, that if such a union were formed the home Churches must loosen their hold on matters ecclesiastical in India, and simply control matters financial, through the missionaries as their agents. This committee has been busily at work gathering information for its report to the next council, which is to meet in London in 1888. It has communicated with missionary secretaries and missionaries, asking their views on a number of points like the following:

1. The urgent need of friendly co-operation by the Foreign Missionary Boards of all the Churches represented in the Alliance, in the location and conduct of missions in separate or contiguous fields, in order to avoid conflict, to save expense, to promote Christian and missionary unity, and to employ all the means and workers on each field to the best advantage.
2. The importance of having but one united ecclesiastical organization in each mission field of the family of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian system, and the best way of accomplishing this result.
3. The most effective means for promoting the self-support, self-extension, and self-government of native mission Churches.
4. The nature, extent, and working of the relation between the native Churches and the Churches at home. Should it be organic and permanent, or voluntary and temporary, existing only so long as may be required by the infancy and growth of Churches in the unevangelized nations, and until they can stand alone and take care of themselves?
5. The relation between the missionaries and the native Churches and ecclesiastical bodies. Should the missionaries be members of the local Church bodies, such as presbyteries, classes, and synods, on an equality with the native pas-

tors? Or should they retain their membership in the ecclesiastical bodies in the home Churches which sent them forth? Are the missionaries to be regarded and commissioned as apostolic evangelists, whose office is to occupy the opening fields, preach the word, evangelize the people, plant and train Christian churches, educate the young, prepare a native ministry, and do other foundation work which belongs chiefly to the formative stages of the Christian Church in Pagan, semi-Christian, and Moslem lands? It is evident that the decision of this question will practically decide that of the relation of missionaries to the native Churches, and the future growth and success of evangelistic work among the nations.

The chief difficulty, in the view of some of the missionaries, in forming a united Church in India is the lack of union among the Churches at home.

THE CONVERSION OF SAMOA.—The report of the annexation of Samoa by Germany, which has been denied by the government at Berlin, makes the story of the conversion and consequent civilization of that central Polynesian group. Samoa is under the control of a native king, and Germany's recent action seems to have been inspired with the desire to overthrow the reigning king, and install a rival claimant who is presumably more favorable to German interests. The Samoans are a vigorous, intellectual race, numbering now about thirty-five thousand, a gain of about eleven hundred in upward of forty years. They were originally a savage people, whom navigators were glad to avoid. They were not, however, a cannibal race, and very seldom did they indulge in human flesh. The missionaries of the London Society took up their residence in Samoa (1830) at an auspicious moment. The people had risen against a tyrant, and killed him, and were in a state of mind favorable to the purposes of the missionaries, who were accompanied by eight South Sea teachers. The new religion was welcomed, but it did not win its way without many a desperate conflict. The Samoan religion was a peculiar religion. Every one had to worship at least five gods, and there were no fewer than one hundred and twenty gods acknowledged by the islanders. The five gods claiming reverence from every person were the god individual, the family god, the village god, the district god, and the war god. The gods were generally incarnate in beast, or fish, or fowl; and the individual whose particular god was in fish, for example, could not eat fish. To break with his religion a Samoan had only to eat his god. In ten years heathenism was substantially overthrown, and Christianity had become the religion of the people. The London and Wesleyan Missionary Societies and the Roman Catholics are laboring in Samoa. Dr. George Turner says, that twenty-seven thousand of the Samoans are under the care of the London Society, under whose auspices he labored in Samoa for many years. He contributes to the January "Chronicle" of that society an extremely interesting article on the work of the missionaries, and on the character of the people and their language. He says of the language that it is "copious, expressive, euphonic," amply sufficient for the translation of the Scriptures. They have an extraordinary mythology, and rich traditional histories. They speak of the great god Tanga-

loa, the "unconditioned," who created all things. He resided in the eighth heaven, from which he rolled down a stone which became the island of Samoa. He then sent a messenger with earth and a creeping plant. The plant withered, and became a substance from which worms sprang, and from worms man was developed. Thus they had evolution; but sometimes this evolution took a backward turn, and men became cray-fish, and pigs sprang from the dis severed heads of human victims. Says Dr. Turner:

You turn to Bible stories and speak about Jacob's ladder, and they tell you of a tree which reached to heaven, up and down which their ancestors used to go on their visits to the heavens, and which measured sixty miles when it fell. After a sermon at Eromanga, on the prophet Jonah, the missionary was told that was *their* man. He fell into the sea, was swallowed by a whale, but his ear ornaments pricked the inside of the fish so terribly to his discomfort that he was ejected, and walked up from the beach, pale and emaciated with fear and hunger. A Samoan Jonah deliberately went into "a great fish" for the purpose of killing it, which he did, and was praised as the deliverer from a great ocean enemy. You tell them of Samson and the Anakim, and they relate the doings of the giant Tafai, who could pick up and hurl a cocoanut-tree as if he were throwing a thin spear, and who left his foot-prints on the rocks, as if they had been soft sand. You speak moreover of Christ walking on the water, and they tell you of the god Raso, who walked a thousand miles on the ocean from Samoa westward, and scattered about a quantity of earth which became the island of Rotumah, one of the late annexations to British rule in the Pacific. You tell them of the heaven of heavens as a world of peace, and that at once suggests to a Samoan his own traditions, which say that the eighth heaven was one of peace, no clubs or spears to be seen about the houses, and war never permitted to enter. A volume or two might be filled with these traditionary stories, many of which are fragments of an old and long-lost theology, and throw not a little light on the grand unity of the human race.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

THE leading article in the "British Quarterly Review" for October considers the subject of union among Scottish Presbyterians. The three branches of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland do not seem to be separated by any sufficient barrier to warrant the distinct existence of the three denominations. Yet the writer sees that there are differences. The Established Church is more tolerant toward heresy, and approaches, in the order of its worship, the Anglican Church, and scarcely a remnant of the old Scotch Calvinism is to be heard from the lips of its younger clergy, while it is peculiarly vague on the subject of eschatology. The Free Church is characterized by a different spirit. It has great respect for traditions. Its theology is rigidly based on the Westminster standards. It has not altogether abandoned the harsher features of Calvinism, but this is much more true in the Highlands than in the Lowlands. The younger ministers of the Free Church are among the most highly educated of their order in Scotland. In the United Presbyterian Church a different type of preaching and thought prevails. This Church aims

at large popular effect. Its preaching is better fitted to produce an impression upon the great mass of hearers. Their ministers usually preach extemporaneously. It is less fettered by tradition than either the Established or the Free Church, and is not dominated in its annual meetings by relics of musty antiquity. The general tendency of the article is to show that there is nothing which ought to separate these several bodies.

There is a very thoughtful article in this number on the "Ethics of Pain" by Henry Hayman, D.D., in which the writer holds that man's capacity for pain exceeds his capacity for pleasure, and that as regards both intensity and duration man's capacity for pain has been increased by civilization. Pain is thought to have a disciplinary effect as stimulating reflection and sustaining virtue by suitable penalties. The unequal distribution of pain centers on a few the burden of suffering due to many, the few becoming, in effect, vicarious sufferers. It is this last hint which makes the author declare that the whole problem of pain and suffering becomes plainer on Christian grounds than it can ever be without them. Even from the stand-point of Natural Theology, pain cements brotherhood, provokes to love and to good works, exalts the sufferer to a place of honor, becomes a test of humility and patience, and turns to a pleasure what seemed a cross. Hence pain becomes an argument in favor of that moral system of the world's government into which it thus exactly fits, and of that Christian ideal into whose very focus its lines converge.

There is a powerful article by R. H. Patterson on "Pessimism and its Religions," too long to be analyzed here, but is to be strongly commended to all thoughtful readers. The final sentence deserves to be quoted: "If there were more Christianity in men's hearts at the present day, we should not hear cries of pessimism, or the despairing lamentations as of men walking in darkness."

We were affected by a peculiar sensation in taking up the "Indian Evangelical Review," a quarterly journal of missionary thought and effort, edited by the Rev. K. S. MacDonald, M.A., and published in Calcutta, India. That such a magazine should be possible in India will be a surprise to many. The article of the highest interest is that by the editor on the "Secret of Buddha's Success as a Propagandist." Besides the ordinary methods, such as preaching and conversation, he made use of certain extraordinary methods, as expedients and mysteries which were substantially miracles and illustrations. A curious story is told that Buddha convinced the five ascetics in Benares when they threw doubt on the truthfulness of his statement that he had obtained enlightenment by projecting his tongue so far from his mouth that it reached both his ears and covered his whole face, and then withdrawing it, said: "Can a man guilty of lying perform such an act as this?" Buddha is also said to have convinced many by his power of suspending himself in the air, causing sparks of fire to issue from his body, rendering himself invisible, and many other such matters. The article is one of very great interest.

The "Unitarian Review" for October has a notable article by the Rev. Sam. J. Barrows on John Bellamy's Bible. This Bible was published in London in 1818, dedicated to the Prince Regent, afterward George IV. The occasion of its publication was, that when Bishop Watson of Llandaff had replied to "The Age of Reason," it appeared to Bellamy that the Bishop had given up the authority of the Scriptures. As no one else undertook the defense of the Bible, he attempted the task himself. The work was published in parts, and there are four of these parts in the Harvard library, bringing the translation down to the First Book of Samuel; though four other parts are said to be in existence. This translation of Bellamy has one unfailing resource; when it finds a difficulty it changes the translation. This spiral method of translation is never abandoned. He does not tunnel the mountain of difficulty; he goes around it, and when he has passed it he firmly believes it does not exist. To show the style of his translation, compare his version of Gen. ii, 21, with the common version: "Now Jehovah God caused an inactive state to fall upon the man and he slept; then he brought one to his side; whose flesh he had inclosed in her place." The whole article is full of quaint translations based upon an attempt to show that there are no difficulties whatever, moral or otherwise, in the Old Testament history. The other papers in this number are of very moderate interest.

Our intense opposition and dislike of the Roman elements in Papal Christianity does not blind us to the fact that there is a marked progress in the intellectual life of the priesthood and people of that body in this country; an intellectual life which will assuredly strengthen independence of thought and the priesthood of the believer. Catholicism can be intense only where the intellect is inactive or the Church suffers persecution. The specifically Roman elements disappear under liberty of thought and freedom of expression. Both the "Catholic World" and the "American Catholic Review" are periodicals of very considerable ability, the former especially is edited with much popular tact. The leading article in the October number has an interest for theologians by reason of its attempt to show that Buddhism at the point where it approximates the liturgy and teaching of Christianity is really an imitation. But we suspect that the question cannot be so easily disposed of. There is a wide field for inquiry and investigation respecting these resemblances between Buddhist and Christian doctrine and government, which we commend to those who in the coming years propose to make comparative theology a chief study.

One of the most interesting of recent announcements is that relating to the "New Princeton Review." This is to be published six times a year by A. C. Armstrong & Son of New York, and Hodder & Stoughton of London, and is to be under the editorial management of William M. Sloane, Professor of History in Princeton College. A very noteworthy list of contributors has been secured, and the departments of fiction, travel, and

belles-lettres are to have particular prominence. The aim of this new review is to find a place not occupied by any other periodical. In attempting to do this it will be fresh and rich in its treatment of American subjects; in philosophy it will be realistic, as opposed to idealism and agnosticism; and if it fulfills its pledge to discuss the subject of physiological psychology it will certainly do more than most of the theological reviews have done. In politics it proposes to discuss whatever is important at home and abroad without belonging to any party. It will attempt to popularize science, especially in the department of investigation and discovery; and it will not discuss theology, but will strive as a principal aim to promote higher morality and religion. The first number under this promising programme was issued January 1, and certainly deserves the warmest welcome, both for its merit and for its fulfillment of its promise.

Charles Dudley Warner writes much of substantial value in his paper of "Society in the New South." It is a study of former life at the South as well as of life at present. Among the notable things said is this: that the South is not, and never has been, disturbed by *isms* of any sort. Spiritualism has absolutely no lodgment there, not even touching the excitable and superstitious colored race. The temperance question has reached a very high position, and is treated in a very common-sense way, and not as a matter of politics. While there is much said in favor of the new South, the writer has the courage of criticism. Mr. Warner says, that life in the South is still of a more simple form, and society not so complex, as in the North; a little more natural, more serious in manner, though not in fact; more frank or impulsive, and less calculating. The love of beauty in the South is marked. Yet with all its social accomplishments, its love of color, and its climatic tendency to the sensuous side of life, the South has been unexpectedly wanting in a fine art development—namely, in music and pictorial art.

This entertaining paper by Mr. Warner is followed by a study by Dr. McCosh of "What an American Philosophy Should Be." It is very interesting to find Dr. McCosh, who came under the American stars late in life, writing as if he were a thorough American, and asserting that our realistic philosophy will, in the end, secure attention and recognition. Dr. C. H. Parkhurst, whose pulpit style is marvelously crisp, shows that he can adapt himself to the necessities of a literary style in his paper on "The Christian Conception of Property." It is an article which is innocent of abstractions. This paper has admirable illustrations, is full of bright sayings, and says the many valuable things in a strong and telling way. But the article which will be most eagerly read is that by Professor Young on "Lunar Problems now under Debate," in which some very valuable and recent knowledge is laid down. "The Political Situation" is an anonymous article without large force. J. B. McMaster, the author of the "History of the People of the United States," has an interesting paper on a "Free Press in the Middle Colonies." It is quite a surprise to find the beginning of a story entitled "Monsieur Motte" in a heavy review. It is bright, but

has rather too much untranslated French for the average reader. This first number is so good that we shall eagerly look for the second.

The January "New Englander" and "Yale Review" opens with a review of the Life of Garrison by his sons, in which Leonard Woolsey Bacon writes appreciatively of the eminent abolitionist. We are glad to find that he points out, what we have pointed out in another place, that Mr. Garrison's character was by no means the simple and unworldly one which it has by many been thought to be. While it is the aim of his children to present him as a wholly faultless character, they afford the proof that he was not what they represented him to be—but was a master of Billingsgate. Mr. Bacon does not hesitate to quote expressions that show that he knew how to brag, and that if he was not passionate or vindictive he was something worse; he put on the appearance of passion or vindictiveness, or of mildness and inoffensiveness, as he deemed it for his own interest or the interest of his cause.

Professor Samuel Harris, of the Yale Theological Seminary, under the question "Have We a Theology?" combats the idea that theology is the foe of religion, and that it must be omitted as an element of pulpit success. Concerning this he says: "Whoever succeeds as an evangelist is a preacher of theology. Whoever has heard Mr. Moody, the greatest of them all, knows that his preaching is eminently theological; the same is true of successful evangelists generally." He holds that declamation against theology legitimately issues in irreligion and unbelief, or in what the Dean of Norwich called "maudlin sentimentalism," with its disparagement of any definite doctrine; a nerveless religion without the sinew and bone of doctrine. The article is not so much an answer to the question in the title as it is a setting forth of the importance of believing something and knowing how to state it.

Ex-Governor Chamberlain, in "Present Aspects of the Southern Question," looks at the fact that the right to vote is not freely exercised in several States of the South, or, if exercised, the true results of legal voting are overcome or suppressed by fraudulent votes or false counting. He admits that whatever influence or terror was exerted upon the voters of any locality did not take the form of preventing voters from reaching the polls. We do not find any very valuable suggestions as to the cure for this state of things in the South, though the author finds much hope for the peaceful adjustment of the controversies and antagonisms in the admitted loyalty and patriotism of the people of the South, and in the development of its industries.

Dr. W. W. Patton has a paper on the weak points of the Evangelical Faith as commonly stated. Among these the first mentioned is, "that it has divided itself into numerous sharply defined and not always friendly sects." He holds that these divisions and their perpetuation to the present day show that no formulated statement of evangelical doctrine commands general assent; that each attempt to make one with clearness and definiteness leads to dissent. The second

fact pointed out is, that "the rival evangelistic sects, after ages of discussion, have made but small impression upon their non-evangelistic but professionally Christian opposers, except in the limitation of the growth of the erring bodies by spiritual power." He holds as a third fact, that "a disintegration of the formulated evangelistic faith has set in." Dr. Patton asks in a very tentative manner the following questions: whether evangelical preaching has not presented a theory of the world as it is, in order to make its system hold together, adapting its idea of probation to a model New England village rather than to the general condition of the world. A second query is, whether we have not insisted too much on the necessity of a regulation piety in order to salvation, and thus failed to recognize that which was unusual or unprofessional in form and microscopic in amount. The other points of his article relate almost entirely to the Calvinistic ideas of evangelical religion, and the whole paper is thoroughly illustrative of what every Methodist knows, that only those demand a new theology who have accepted the old Calvinism. It is very interesting also to observe how, in the quotations made by the author from George Eliot, Dr. Oswald, Russell Lowell, and others, the criticisms are all turned against conceptions of preaching and of the relation of religion to life which have been relatively unknown to Methodists. The discussion as to Yale College and its interests is continued in this number by Henry C. Kingsley under the title "Yale College under President Porter's Administration." This article is chiefly a summary of the financial progress of the college under the administration of President Porter. There are some pleasant notices of Yale graduates from 1701 to 1745 by Rev. Dr. I. N. Tarbox.

The January Andover has a very thoughtful paper on "Revelation as a Factor in Evolution," by Rev. F. H. Johnson, which is very well worth reading as indicating a line of adjustment between things that have been supposed to be hopelessly unfriendly. Professor Ladd, in "Education, New and Old," criticises the Harvard plan and shows many facts favorable to the more conservative methods of Yale. There is a most interesting sketch of the life and work of Louis Agassiz by Professor Asa Gray. Professor L. F. Stearns has a very thoughtful paper on the data of the doctrine of the atonement. He notices the fact that the present condition of Christian thought with reference to that most important doctrine of Christian truth is peculiar. The atonement itself, as the great saving fact of the Gospel, was never more prominent; but, nevertheless, the doctrine lacks definite shape and statement. His article is intended to furnish some aids to reflection with regard to the fundamental conceptions involved in the doctrine of the atonement. He insists that the position of the atonement in the Christian system must be determined at the outset; the objects of the atonement must be definitely stated and distinguished; we must determine the meanings of salvation and punishment; we must come to some clear conception of the atonement itself; attention must be fixed upon the vicarious quality of the Saviour's work; the relation

or proportion of the death of Christ as an element in the atonement deserves closer consideration. From these suggestions it will be seen that Professor Stearns, who is of the Theological Seminary at Bangor, Maine, finds that there is a great deal of work to be done before the new theology is written. Dr. John E. Todd, of New Haven, has written a very strong letter to the "Andover Review" concerning its teaching with regard to probation, and the best part of the editorial in this January number is taken up with an answer to Dr. Todd's queries. A very pleasant feature of this number is a paper on Church architecture, in which a fine engraving of the exterior and interior of the Central Church at Worcester, Mass., is given, with a ground-plan.

It is evident from the discussions in the English Reviews that Dis-establishment and Disendowment are in the air, and that the present strength of the Anglican Church will be spent in saving as much as possible of the conditions, social and financial, upon which so much of its power depends. Thus in the December number of the "Contemporary Review" the Dean of Wells lays down several propositions which he calls "A Plan of Church Reform; or, A Little Draft for a Church Reform Bill." Professor Sayce renews the discussion on the origin of the alphabet. Gamaliel Bradford discusses the government of the United States in a paper of great intelligence. Mr. Bradford attempts to expound for English readers the principles which underlie our government, especially in comparison with English methods. The article is very valuable as correcting some misapprehensions among English readers, and many an intelligent American will find his knowledge of his own land increased by this paper written with American force but English carefulness.

Professor Fairbairn returns to the well-worn subject of Reason and Religion, especially showing the want of self-consistency of Cardinal Newman. This is one of a series of articles which has attracted great attention abroad.

Professor Huxley, whose name has not of late appeared as frequently as in former times in contemporary literature, opens the December number of the "Nineteenth Century" with an article on the interpreters of Genesis and the interpreters of nature. This article is largely a reply to some criticisms by Mr. Gladstone on the work of Dr. Reville. A paper of timely interest is that by Fortescue Fox on "Stimulants and Narcotics—their Use and Abuse." This article is the freshest summary of what is known as to the distribution of narcotics and their use, and the conclusions of the author will not be accepted by many, as he says that the various substances considered are of use to man; that in no case is any one justified in saying, "This thing is without its proper use in the world; it is an agent of unmitigated evil." He holds that we have no sufficient ground to condemn the use of stimulant-narcotics; certain forms of indulgence he condemns; excesses must be deplored. The article is worth

reading for its information, if it be not followed for its logic. The other articles are of interest chiefly to Englishmen, with the exception of that on "Solar Myths," by Professor Max Müller.

"The Overland Monthly" maintains itself with increasing power. In the December number will be found a valuable account of the present condition of the Lick Observatory, from which it appears that the building is completed and endowed, and that the great object-glass, the rough casting for which has just been accomplished after twenty unsuccessful trials lasting six years, is in the hands of the polishers and finishers. In a comparatively short time Mr. Lick's gift to his fellow-citizens of California will begin to bear fruit. E. L. Huggins contributes a suggestion on the Indian question, which is, substantially, that the true policy is to segregate and isolate the small tribes from each other as far as possible, instead of herding them together. In other words, the suggestions are very much like those made by Major-Gen. Sheridan. There is also here a valuable study of the Chinese question, and it is pleasant to find a writer in this magazine taking the broad and humanitarian side. But the number is particularly notable for a very remarkable paper by George H. Howison on the question, "Is Modern Science Pantheistic?" This paper was presented at the Concord School of Philosophy, July 31, 1885, and was written as an introduction to a symposium on the question, "Is Pantheism the Legitimate Outcome of Modern Science?" The other contributors were Mr. John Fiske, Dr. F. E. Abbott, Dr. A. P. Peabody, Dr. W. T. Harris, and Dr. Edward Montgomery. The first part of Mr. Fiske's contribution has appeared in the book entitled "The Idea of God." We should be glad to quote from this paper if it were possible. We can only say that it defines Pantheism, shows its relation to Materialism and Idealism, exhibits the contrasts between Pantheism and Deism, and unfolds the permanent truth and the permanent defect in Pantheism; shows why it is to be deprecated, why it is very profoundly interesting, and asserts that modern science is strictly Non-pantheistic. This article is remarkable as showing the reaction which Christian scholars have expected for a long time, and is well worthy of being extracted and carefully studied by all who are acquainted with the problems suggested by scientific study. In the January number will be found other papers of great interest. The magazine is true to the soil on which it is printed, but is as broad as the whole world. A very pleasant article is that on "An Autumn Ramble in Washington Territory." "The Wyoming Anti-Chinese Riot" is discussed once more by A. A. Sargent. Mr. Sargent writes from the Pacific coast standpoint, and while careful not to uphold the riot, much that he says is in the line of palliation, if not justification.

A very notable feature of recent magazine work is the appearance in both Harper's and the Century of Studies of Persian Architecture, Scenery, and Life, by S. G. W. Benjamin. While, of course, much has been known of the history of Persia, its geographical situation is such as

to make its capital a city of important diplomatic residence; yet little is known popularly of its interior and the manners and customs of its people. Mr. Benjamin contributes much that is new, and more that is valuable, while the admirable illustrations throw light upon the physical characteristics and domestic life of one of the most enduring of cities. In the January Harper's the most notable article is that on "A Lamp Full of Oil," by Geo. R. Gibson, which studies petroleum from the first effort to sink a well to the construction of the pipe lines, and the various methods by which it is refined as well as transported. This article is a marvel of good writing, and he who reads it carefully will know all that needs to be known by a person of general intelligence on the development and importance of one of the great industries of America. There is also in this number a most remarkable story in the negro dialect, entitled "Unc' Edinboro's Drowndin'." It stands altogether at the head of such contributions to magazine literature. The dialect is not obtrusive, while the power of the story is very great; and as it is told in monologue, the artistic difficulty of creating such a story is largely increased. We commend also to our readers a very valuable paper on "The Militia," by Gen. George R. McClellan, the last contribution of a man whose organizing skill was probably not excelled in our Civil War, but whose ability to lead seemed not proportionate to his ability to form something worthy to lead.

The January Century, besides the article on Persia to which we have already referred, has some very valuable restorations of fossil birds or flying animals, midway between reptilian and bird forms. This article deserves attention not only for its intense interest, but for its importance scientifically. It puts beyond a question the existence of birds with teeth, and of birds whose vertebræ and other characteristics allied them very closely to reptilian forms. Especially we would call attention to the drawing of the fossil archæopteryx, and to the restoration on the opposite page, which seems amply justified by this creature as it is preserved in the fossil state; and yet it is so peculiar, not to say hideous, that if one were to see the restoration without having seen the fossil form, it would be numbered among the pranks of a scientific humorist, rather than a careful restoration from known data. It is quite evident from this number, also, that stories of southern life and of local character are to have a prominent place, for a long time to come, in our American literature. Slavery produced so many dramatic situations, and freedom has created so many new ones, that a double interest attaches both to the whites and blacks in respect of the dramatic possibilities of these relations. There is a pathos about the black race, and their past relations to the whites, which can never lose its power, and there is scarcely a better illustration in existence of this than in the sketch called "The Cloverfields' Carriage," by F. R. Stockton, in this January "Century." It is as true to the life as possible. The Rev. Ed. Hungerford has a paper on "Spiritual Preaching for Our Times," in which he says many bright and excellent things. Some will dispute the following: "Any one who comes much in contact with church-goers will observe that there has been among them in

the last ten or fifteen years an increasing demand for preaching which promotes a spiritual Sabbath and spiritual faith. If, especially here in America, church-goers at one period have been to a considerable extent captivated by a preaching which lowered its tone and thought to catch men with tricks and sensationalism, that day has gone by." Concerning spiritual preaching he says: "It is not preaching with what in many quarters passes for unction. The preacher must come as Jesus came from the Jordan, having the heart so transfused by a sense of the Spirit and spiritual relations that he will speak out of depths so profound that his words seem to touch the sources of being. This is unction. . . . What often goes current under the name is nothing more than an acquired manner and tone belonging to the department of elocution, and equally available for themes spiritual or secular. Spiritual preaching is not to be confounded with revival preaching. Revival preaching as a main dependence cannot answer the demand of any times. Spiritual preaching is reviving; it is not necessarily revivalistic." The article is well worth consideration.

Historically, one of the most important papers in the series on the Civil War is that in this number by Gen. John Pope on the second battle of Bull Run. Gen. Pope explicitly denies that he ever dated any dispatch from his "head-quarters in the saddle," and presents afresh in large part the evidence which seemed sufficient at the time for the condemnation of Major-Gen. Fitz John Porter.

Our welcome friend, Lippincott's Monthly, takes a new departure with the first of January. It has a new cover which is really tasteful, and has a broad page undivided into columns, print delightful, and paper equal to the best. It is intended to make it thoroughly alive, and it is to be sold at twenty-five cents per number, or two dollars per annum in advance. It is not illustrated, but is thoroughly interesting. There is a very notable series of extracts from the writings of George Eliot, giving criticisms of her contemporaries, these criticisms being extracted from various English reviews. We doubt if better critical work in short space can be found in any language than is here resuscitated from the anonymous work of their great author.

Gail Hamilton does not find her soul thrilled with the glories of Civil Service Reform. We are a little afraid that the political disappointment of her relative has added a shade of additional acidity to her views of American life. Her work is always interesting, and if, like others, she is sometimes "intoxicated by the exuberance of her own verbosity," she only falls under that subtle habit of nature which leads us to despise that which has proved the ruin of our ambitions. The country always is tottering to its ruin in the sight of those who are politically disappointed.

An excellent portrait of Sir Henry Thompson appears as the frontispiece of the January "English Illustrated Magazine," engraved from the picture by Millais, so spirited and life-like that it is difficult to believe that it is an engraving from a painting. There is also in this

number a very pleasant summary of life one hundred years ago. "A Month in Sicily" is well described and well illustrated, taking the traveler, as it does, out of the ordinary lines of European movement. Those who love the Essays of Elia will greatly enjoy the illustrations which accompany the paper on Charles Lamb in Hertfordshire, which breathe the true spirit of old English life.

We count "The Expositor," edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., published in this country by A. D. F. Randolph & Co., New York, among the very best and most scholarly of the aids to the modern minister. It is not so heavy as a review, and is not so trifling as a daily; but it is interesting, solid, timely, and thoroughly helpful. We have no American magazine which fills its place.

We gave a glad welcome to the "African Methodist Episcopal Church Review" on its first appearance, a welcome which is renewed with each successive number. It is edited by Dr. B. T. Tanner, and there are few American reviews which can show a better table of contents or better treatment. The first article is by T. T. Fortune, the editor of the "New York Freeman," on "Civil Rights and Social Privileges." Mr. Fortune writes with great vigor and with considerable learning, but with too much heat to make the best impression. Professor Scarboro, of Wilberforce University, has a very noteworthy paper on "Fatalism in Homer and Virgil," which will interest students. The breadth of this magazine may be seen from the fact that it treats not only American problems, but "The Congo Valley," "Science by Unscientific Methods," "The Commercial Position of the United States on the High Seas," "The Life of Lord Lawrence and its Lessons," and "The Development of Progress."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Christ and Christianity: Studies on Christology, Creeds and Confessions, Protestantism and Romanism, Reformation Principles, Sunday Observance, Religious Freedom, and Christian Union. By PHILIP SCHAFF. 8vo, pp. 310. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

It is a wonder how Dr. Schaff can perform the amount of literary labor required for the production of the books and other publications that appear with his name. He no doubt has an able corps of trained assistants who have acquired his methods of thinking and style of writing, but that fact only partially solves the mystery, for the evident originality of thought and manner of many of these productions precludes the idea that they are "prentice work." His acquaintance with the course of the religious thought of the age seems to be very extensive, while his knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs, in all their departments, and during

all the ages of the Church, must be simply cyclopedic. And in addition to the results of his own original thinking, he has also, as a purveyor of other men's thoughts, greatly enlarged the religious literature of the times; and whatever he handles he also enriches with his own suggestions, and often with valuable additions of supplementary matter.

The latest born of his literary progeny (perhaps a later will have appeared before this shall be printed) is fittingly described by the title given above. It is not a compact treatise devoted to a single subject, but a set of "Studies," on somewhat related subjects, yet each sufficiently individualized, and complete in itself: "Chips," Max Müller would call them, not, however, castaways, but well wrought-out though hitherto unused pieces—oftentimes the most suggestive because the freest of the author's thinkings. The pieces that make up this volume, though they lie scattered along the most frequented and well-trodden paths, and seem designed to give out the writer's views only tentatively, and more as suggestions than conclusions, are nevertheless full of interest by reason of their felicitous groupings and apt intimations as to the proper solutions of not a few difficulties in theological and textual interpretations. Among these things are some of the "burning questions" which, in these days, are awakening not a little earnest thought, and at times are shadowed with misgivings.

The composite character of the volume is shown by its table of contents. First comes the author's "Inaugural Address," delivered in 1871, when he assumed his professorial chair in the Union Theological Seminary—simply a survey of the evangelical Protestant theology of that date. After this, constituting the most considerable "Part," follow a series of papers with the common title of "Christological Studies;" and then in succession a "Part" entitled "Polemical and Irenical," and another on "Moral and Social," subjects. His discussions of a variety of matters under the general heading "Christ in Theology" are especially significant. The subjects introduced are, for the most part, considered in their historical relations, but also somewhat dogmatically. They involve questions that violently agitated the early Church, about Christ's person and character, his divinity and his humanity, and the "hypostatical" union of the two complete natures in his one mysterious person. These questions, having first shaken the Church to its foundations, were determinatively settled by the Councils of Nice and Constantinople and Chalcedon, the last of which solemnly anathematized Nestorius, and so constituted the Nestorianism of ecclesiastical history, a heresy though it may be doubted whether any other of that age so happily conceived and stated the scriptural doctrine of Christ's person as now held and taught by the "orthodox" as did that proscribed and so-called heretic.

Dr. Schaff's summary of the accepted doctrines respecting Christ's person, which seems to comprise all that is of much importance, may be epitomized with some necessary repetitions, in these brief statements: 1. That there was a real incarnation of the divine Logos in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, so that he who was very and eternally God became

also man, and so was at once "very God and very man." 2. That the two natures in Christ's person were not blended together, but remained distinct and unchanged. 3. That the God-man, with two distinct and complete natures, was a single person—one and undivided. 4. That in Christ's dual person each nature retained its own proper attributes and affections, each having its own will and its distinctive consciousness. 5. That while each of the two natures that united in Christ's person possessed all the attributes essential to a completed personality, yet was he only one person, at once man with men and God with God. 6. That all Christ's properly Messianic work was performed in his complex person, whether dying upon the cross or rising again from the dead; and in that dual character he is now the Head of the militant Church, and the exalted High-priest of our profession. 7. That Christ's human nature was specifically prepared for him, and was not designed to form, at any time, a distinct personality, nor ever to be dissevered from his divinity. These points are set down as indicative of the substance of "Excumenical Christology"—the *consensus* of evangelical orthodoxy, which has been conserved through all the ages of the Church, and which now commands the consent of the most learned, and is also the joy and confidence of the penitent and believing.

It is often assumed that clear and sharp definitions of doctrines are necessarily polemical, and such they may sometimes be, but only incidentally; if studied in a spirit of reverent devotion, they will not fail to be "wholesome," and "full of comfort," and because we believe that such will be the effect of studying Dr. Schaff's book we heartily recommend its perusal.

Beyond the Grave. By Dr. HERMAN CREMER, Professor of Theology in the University of Griefswald. Translated from the German by Rev. SAMUEL T. LOWRIE, D.D., Pastor of the Ewing Presbyterian Church, near Trenton, N. J. With an Introduction by the Rev. A. A. HODGE, D.D., Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology, Princeton Theological Seminary. 18mo, pp. 153. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Doctrine of Endless Punishment. By WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD, D.D., Roosevelt Professor of Systematic Theology in Union Theological Seminary. Small 12mo, pp. 163. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Progressive Orthodoxy. A Contribution to the Christian Interpretation of Christian Doctrines. By the Editors of "The Andover Review," Professors in Andover Theological Seminary. 18mo, pp. 253. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

No two of the books whose titles we give above lie in precisely the same plane, or belong strictly to the same school of thought, and yet they are all included in a broader but still well-defined classification. There is manifestly an awakening of inquiry among Christian thinkers and teachers respecting the future life, which is leading to a re-examination and re-statement of the opinions that have prevailed concerning that subject and collateral ones, with a weighing anew of the evidence upon which those opinions rest—whether scriptural, ecclesiastical, or speculative. And although no ultimate conclusions have been reached, yet some

important intermediate ones have been made very evident. It is demonstrated that no one position is so well fortified that it may not be assailed with some show of reason; and also that large parts of nearly all theories of the future of the human race find but a feeble and uncertain support from the Bible; and also that the available evidence respecting men's relations to and expectation of the future state stand in great need of a thorough re-consideration and affirmation. And when this shall have been done, no doubt it will appear that the larger part of what we have been taught in hymns and liturgies—in mystical musings and imaginative speculations and dogmatic asseverations—about the details of the spirit-world, are sadly destitute of evidence. A learned writer of the present time, discussing some points of this general subject, closed his reflections with the remark: "The whole subject of eschatology needs to be restated;" and to him who may undertake that task we would suggest a proper consideration of the apostle's declaration, "It doth not yet appear what we shall be;" and that it is not best, on such a subject, to be wise above what is written.

Of the three books above named, the first is originally by a German theological professor, having been turned into English by a learned and highly conservative Presbyterian minister, and it comes forth in its new form with the broad indorsement (with only one slight exception) of an accepted representative of the old-school orthodoxy of our Calvinistic Churches. It is therefore a representative re-statement of the doctrines of "last things," as respects the human individual, as held and taught by average orthodox Calvinists; but while the old faith is re-asserted in its entirety, there are attempts—some of them plausible, and more of them fanciful, and nearly all of them chiefly conjectural—to answer a variety of curious rather than useful questions relating to various details of the subject. The book is likely to be about equally harmless and useless; but it marks a phase of the prevailing discussion.

The second is essentially of the same school of thought, but as the product of a master mind it handles its subjects with distinguished ability. Dr. Shedd contributed one of a set of papers on "Endless Punishment" which appeared in the "North American Review" for February, 1885, in which he discussed only the "Rational Argument," and that paper, somewhat re-written, with a brief *résumé* of the "History of the Doctrine," and an extended re-examination of the "Biblical Argument," makes up the present volume. That it is an able production the name of the writer is a sufficient pledge. But the fullness of the writer's own convictions largely unfits him for patiently hearing and considering the doubts of those less fully convinced. Perhaps it renders him a little too ready to find his own opinions sustained by portions of Scripture which to others are less clear and positive. And yet it must be said, that the usual method of evading his arguments, instead of answering them, is the more prudent, if less manly.

The third work named has the advantage of novelty, not, perhaps, in its teachings so much as in its methods, and in the fact that it demon-

strates the completeness of the doctrinal somersault performed by the teaching faculty of a venerable theological school that was established for the express purpose of maintaining and propagating the doctrines that it seems now especially intent on destroying. The volume is chiefly a reproduction of a series of editorial papers issued during the last year in the "Andover Review," which have been widely read, and quite naturally have elicited wide discussion. Of the nine different papers, the third is entitled "Eschatology;" but it considers very little else than the question of a future probation for those who die without having heard of Christ and his Gospel, which it answers in favor of the presumed "fair chance" in the future world which it is asserted they have not in this. The arguments presented are the same that have before done service in the same line, only the writers appear to be especially disinclined to rest their conclusions on the teachings of Holy Scripture, and especially the words of Christ, evidently because his words more than any others shut us up to despair of the "restoration" of the unsaved in this life. The newness of the matter that makes up this volume is not in its substance, but in its form and modes of statement, and in the newly applied title of orthodoxy. Much that is given as *new* may be found in almost any non-Calvinistic treatise on theology, and other less acceptable matters have long been known but only to be rejected.

Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book to the Epistles to Timothy and Titus. By JOHN ED. HUTHER, Th.D. Translated by DAVID HUNTER, B.A. And, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, by Dr. GOTTLIED LUNEMANN. Translated by Rev. MAURICE J. EVANS, B.A. With a Preface and Supplement to the American Edition, by TIMOTHY DWIGHT, Professor of Sacred Literature in Yale College. 8vo, pp. 753. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Meyer's "Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament," as written by the author's own hand, extended only to the end of Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, his work being brought to a conclusion at that point by his death. After that event, which seemed to be so great a loss to biblical learning, the remaining books of the New Testament were taken in hand by two other scholars, whose personal and literary relations to the deceased writer seemed especially to qualify them for the work. Thessalonians and Hebrews were undertaken by Professor Lunemann, and the pastoral epistles, Peter and Jude, James and John, by Pastor Huther. Revelation is still unwritten. These assignments, and the work that has so resulted, have proved highly satisfactory; and the commentaries produced are unquestionably of the highest excellence. If something of Meyer's almost unequalled critical exactness is wanting, the deficiency is abundantly compensated by the breadth and the fullness of the substituted productions.

The volume in hand, which is a part of the first American edition (corresponding to two volumes of Clark's edition), has received the careful editorial inspection of Professor Dwight, who greatly enriched the exegetical notes by original matter, extending to more than a hundred and

twenty pages, made up of additional notes of considerable extent, and of great value. This new edition of Meyer is, no doubt, destined to wide use among American scholars, both because of its less price and its greater fullness of matter.

The People's Bible. Discourses upon Holy Scripture. By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D., Minister of the City Temple, Holburn Viaduct, London. Author of "Ecce Deus," etc. Volume I. The Book of Genesis. 8vo, pp. 368. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Dr. Joseph Parker has earned for himself a reputation that attracts readers to his writings as well as hearers to his temple; and although that reputation is not that of an astute biblical critic and learned exegete, still any defects in that direction is abundantly compensated for by his aptitude in detecting the spirit of the sacred narratives with which he deals, and by his artistic facility in grouping thoughts and in presenting realized pictures. A "People's Bible" prepared by him cannot fail to be at once acceptable and useful to those for whom it is designed. The undertaking, which, we take it, embraces the whole volume of God's word, is a gigantic one, which must extend through many years of diligent and laborious effort. May he live to write its "Finis!" The Book of Genesis offers some especially fine themes for the exercise of Dr. Parker's genius, notably the idyllic picture of "Abraham's Domestic Life," and "The Last Days of Jacob," while the whole story of Joseph is, though veritable, still a romance in the very best sense; and these, with others, the author has turned to good account. The book is valuable as a commentary, but its peculiar excellence is that of a picture gallery of sacred scenes.

Views of Religion. By THEODORE PARKER. With an Introduction by JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE. 8vo, pp. 466. Boston: American Unitarian Association. \$1.

Theodore Parker was once a power, but rather after the fashion of a cyclone than of the steadily acting forces of nature; and like that of the cyclone his career was brief—perhaps, too, it should be added, it was also destructive. Though still remembered by many not yet old, yet is he practically forgotten; and his writings, once widely read, and surely not wanting in both strength and finish, are now obsolete. And this compilation of select pieces, although heralded by a favored name of the same school, but not the same, and offered at only a nominal price, will fail to bring a new life to the fame and the works of the renowned apostle of unbelief.

The Book of Daniel; or, the Second Volume of Prophecy. Translated and Expounded, with a Preliminary Sketch of Antecedent Prophecy. By JAMES G. MURPHY, D.D., LL.D., T.C.D., Professor of Hebrew. 12mo, pp. 203. Andover: Henry F. Draper.

Dr. Murphy has not to win a reputation, for that he has already done. But he here enters upon a specially difficult field, with a formidable rival in Dr. Pusey, whose elaborate and marvelously learned commentary on Daniel has just been republished. But even in this contest his reputation

is not likely to suffer loss. The "Preliminary Sketch," which makes up the first half of the book, is especially valuable.

God's Revelations of Himself to Men, as successively made in the Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian Dispensations, and in the Messianic Kingdom. By SAMUEL J. ANDREWS, Author of "The Life of our Lord upon Earth." 12mo, pp. 391. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2 50.

All who, long years ago, as we did, read Mr. Andrews's "Life of our Lord," will be likely to take up this volume with a predisposition in its favor, for that work is a model of learning without ostentation, of modesty of manners, and of reverent treatment, along with honest criticism and common-sense judgment. It was among the older of the numerous family of Lives of Christ, and few of the junior members have gone beyond it in real value. The present volume is a kindred one, and yet very unlike the former in many things, though written in a like spirit. With many things respecting God's dealings with men we might hesitate to agree, and especially in respect to the literal fulfillment of prophecy, and the materialistic nature of the Messianic kingdom; and yet we can commend the work as instructive, and wholesome in tone and spirit.

Studies in the Gospel according to St. John. By REV. J. CYNDDYLAN JONES, Author of "Studies in Matthew," and "Acts." Edited by Rev. W. P. HARRISON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 337. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Mr. Jones, a Welsh Calvinistic Methodist, is somewhat known by his formerly published expository works. He is a writer of spirit and vivacity rather than of large erudition or profound thought, earnest and evangelical in respect to the character of his utterances, and notwithstanding some of his opinions against which his editor finds cause to caution the reader, his "Studies" may be perused with profit.

Studies Supplementary to the Studies in the Forty Days between Our Lord's Resurrection and Ascension. By ANDREW A. LIPSCOMB, D.D., LL.D., Emeritus Professor, Vanderbilt University. 12mo, pp. 300. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Our readers have had the opportunity to know something of Dr. Lipscomb's style, both of thinking and writing, which is very fully illustrated in this work, and in that to which it is designed to be a Supplement. The period covered is that devoted to the planting and establishing the Church in the earth, a period especially rich in evidential results which appeal to man's own spiritual consciousness. Among these things the author is at his best.

The Discipline of the Christian Character. By R. W. CHURCH, Dean of St. Paul's. 12mo, pp. 139. London: Macmillan & Co.

Five discourses delivered at St. Paul's (London) during the month of August, 1885. They are excellent in spirit, though not remarkably spiritual or spirited; but they have to a praiseworthy degree the negative excellence of not attempting to be sensational.

PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

The Consolations of Science; or, Contributions from Science to the Hope of Immortality, and Kindred Themes. By JACOB STRAUB. With an Introduction by HIRAM W. THOMAS, D.D., Pastor of the People's Church, Chicago, Ill. 8vo, pp. 435. Chicago: The Colgrove Book Company.

We are not of those who stand in mortal dread of the results of the growth of science upon the Christian faith, nor do we entirely sympathize with the spirit that prompts the efforts that some good people are making for the reconciliation of science and religion; nor are we solicitous to secure "aids to faith" from human learning. No doubt it is true, as we are so often reminded, that since both science and revelation are expressions of the truth, there can be no disagreement between them. But in order that the argument may be obvious, the truths of both science and revelation must be thoroughly understood. And since theology and secular learning are both very far from complete, as sciences, their harmonization cannot be expected to be perfect. In theology we must believe and practice in order that we may know; and having so learned Christ, there will usually be found the ability to give a reason for the hope that is in us. And having that hope, we may freely welcome all possible advancements in science.

The method of proof, in the book under notice, is that now commonly used: that is, to show that man is, as to his real self, a spiritual being, and therefore wholly exempt from the vicissitudes that belong to all material things, and, therefore, that he is not a subject of scientific determinations; and, also, that man's spiritual character and moral attributes clearly imply his immortality, with certain intimate relations between the present life and the hereafter. The speculations respecting the modes of existence in the future state, and also about the possible intercourse between the two worlds, are much more fanciful than real, and will no doubt prove to be more curious than useful.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 584. New York: Charles L. Webster & Co.

General Grant has hitherto been recognized in the double character of soldier and statesman, and as to both sides of this character, as shown by his career, his friends are content that he shall be judged according to his works. His personal and private life has also arrested general attention, and secured for him a kind and degree of honor even more valuable than any so justly rendered to him for his conduct in public life, because of both the intrinsic excellence and the rarity of such qualities among renowned public men. And now, last of all, and chiefly as a posthumous award, he comes before the public to receive recognition as a man

of letters. Other great military leaders, ever since the time of Cesar, in Gaul and Britain, have occasionally written out their memoirs of battles and campaigns, but we scarcely know of any other who, after an exceptionally distinguished career in official life—military and civil—has been able deliberately to record his “personal memoirs” for the use of the great public. And these records of a busy life, which belong to the history of the country, are of incalculable value, because they are the solemn testimony of an exceptionally competent witness to transactions at once very important and much controverted; and prepared as they were, after life’s ambitions and rivalries were ended, and also under the shadow of certain and nearly approaching death, they are in the highest degree trustworthy.

The style of writing is plain, clear, and direct, in good and forcible English, more suggestive of the Saxon than the classical fountains of our language, with something of the concise and comprehensive certainty of meaning that characterizes the best kind of military dispatches, and with fewest possible figures or illustrations for mere ornamentation. But any possible lack in these things is more than compensated by the writer’s complete mastery of the matter in hand, and the consequent life-like reality of the narrations. As these memoirs are profoundly personal, so the writer presents what he has to tell us with all possible freedom. He tells of his early days with entire frankness, neither concealing nor ostentatiously parading the homely rusticity of his childhood’s home and its conditions. His cadet life, as it was uneventful, is dispatched in a very few pages. The Mexican war presents a more fruitful theme, and is treated accordingly—the manifest and inexcusable iniquity of its inauguration on our side, without provocation, and almost solely for personal political designs, and for the extension of the area of slavery, is more than conceded; the bravery of our soldiers, and the well-earned successes of the commanding generals (Taylor and Scott), despite the lack of the sympathy and support of the government at Washington, are witnessed without ostentatious assertion, by the simple story of the war. The period from 1850 to 1860, as it was apparently alike uneventful and unpromising, is passed over rapidly, yet so as to maintain the completeness of the personal biography. With the outbreak of the Rebellion begins the history of that remarkable career which has made the name and fame of its subject the most illustrious of modern times. This first volume carries the narrative by Belmont, and Donelson, and Shiloh, and Corinth, to Vicksburg, ending with the account of the strange—not to use any stronger terms—scattering, by orders from Washington, of the army that had taken Vicksburg, to the great peril of the advantages of that achievement. In his accounts of his military movements, General Grant, though very sparing in the use of complaints or open censures, still leaves his readers in no doubt as to his estimate of men and measures; and the tone and manner of his speaking of certain of his generals, for whom, it is well known, he had a great partiality, evidently secured by their truthfulness and soldierly qualities, indicate also his less favorable opinions of those

not so commended. Nor is he at all indefinite or ambiguous in his references to the indefensible unrighteousness of the Rebellion itself, nor of the unpatriotic imbecility of the administration at Washington at the time of its inception, nor yet of the traitorous sympathy with the enemy by the Opposition party, which, to the extent of its ability, brought "aid and comfort" to the enemy. The country will await with earnest expectation the advent of the second volume, with its even more stirring details. Altogether it is an admirable and a wonderful work.

Chosin, The Land of the Morning Calm. A Sketch of Korea. By PERCIVAL LOWELL, "Late Foreign Secretary and Councilor to the Korean Special Mission to the United States of America." Illustrated by Photographs by the Author. Imperial octavo, pp. 412. Boston: Ticknor & Co.

Ever since the farthest East has been made known by Western adventurers, whether travelers, or missionaries, or traders, the existence of Korea has also been known, and a place on our maps has been assigned to the peninsula that, extending southward from the extreme north-east angle of the continent of Asia, separates the Yellow Sea on the west, toward China, from the Sea of Japan, on the east. But in respect to every thing about that strange country, beyond its existence, the great world has, till very recently, been strangely willing to be ignorant. But at length the spell that has so long kept out of sight this "Hermit Nation" has been broken, and Korea has now its place in the family of nations. And yet even now our knowledge of the country is but limited. Its external situation is easily determined, and its outer margins have been somewhat examined, but of its interior geography and topography, its cities and its towns, its government and its people, and their institutions, civilization, and religion, comparatively little is known.

The volume above named is a contribution to our small fund of information on this subject, and its value is to be estimated rather relatively than absolutely. By virtue of his official relations its author enjoyed exceptional opportunities for gaining a knowledge of the country, which he seems to have turned to good account; and as the result, our acquaintance with that strange land is considerably increased. But still the things yet to be ascertained very largely exceed all that we know. The accounts given of the face of the country, its lands and mountains, and rivers and lakes—the results largely of personal observation, though very partial—are valuable. What is told us of the political institutions of the country is good as far as it goes, but that is not far. Some little light is cast upon the social and religious condition of the people in the chapters on "The Position of Woman" and on "The Want of a Religion" (for properly the Koreans have none, though they are greatly addicted to "Demon Worship"), and what is given us in these chapters sufficiently indicates the low level of their characters and lives. The population of the country, of Tartar origin, but individualized by long isolation, is estimated at twelve millions, which seems a very large number for the extent of its territory. Söul, the capital, over three miles square,

is supposed to have within its walls about a million and a quarter, and as many more live in the extra-mural suburbs.

This volume is most luxurious in its material make-up. Its binding and paper are really fine; its large type and double-lead lines are attractive for weak eyes; the illustrations have the advantages and the disadvantages of photographs—correctness and stiffness. Altogether the work is a valuable contribution to our relatively meager store of knowledge of a hitherto unknown country.

Clark's Foreign Theological Library. New Series. Vols. XXII, XXIII. A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. By EMIL SCHÜRER, D.D., M.A., Professor at Giessen. Being a Second and Revised Edition of a "Manual of the History of New Testament Times" Second Division. The Internal Condition of Palestine and of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR and Rev. PETER CHRISTIE. Two Volumes. Pp. 379, 327. New York: Scribner & Welford.

These volumes, as indicated in their titles, are a reproduction in part of a formerly published work by the same author. They are also the second part of that work, as far as they go, but a third volume is to be added, the first not having yet been issued. But though thus incomplete, and somewhat fragmentary, they give the various particulars taken in hand with all needful entirety; and the subjects discussed, as they all belong to the same time, have no certain order of temporal succession. The parts still wanting are promised for the near future.

The matters treated are precisely those with which readers of the New Testament are constantly brought into contact, and those without some knowledge of which, many things in that volume cannot possibly be understood. We have in the first place an account of the people and the state of their culture, population, language, the infusion of Hellenism, and the relation of the Jews to the heathenism of their times. Next, we have a geographical and topographical survey of the land, its Grecian and its strictly Jewish portion, with some account of the Sanhedrin and of the high-priests. After this comes an account of the priesthood and the temple worship; and lastly, the scribes and their functions. These occupy the first volume.

In the second volume we have accounts of the "Pharisees and Sadducees," the "School and Synagogue," "Life under the Law," "The Messianic Hope," "The Essenes," "The Dispersion," and "Proselytism." Respecting such a work it is sufficient to say, that it is scholarly—some may think that its array of authorities is formidable. But the text is plain and easy to be understood, and so arranged that while the learned have the authorities that are to be depended upon fully brought forward and discussed, those who read only the English will find the arguments fairly reproduced and the conclusions clearly stated, and all the statements brought within his condition. Those details of Jewish life and manners, the modes of thought prevalent among the people with whom the events of the New Testament transpired, and the setting of the whole story, are the needed and always available commentary upon the book.

itself, without some acquaintance with which the reading must fail to lead to any clear conception of many important things in the Gospel.

A History of German Literature. By W. SCHERER. Translated from the Third German Edition, by Mrs. F. C. CONYBEARE. Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER. Two volumes. Crown 8vo, pp. 401, 425. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Nearly all formerly published histories of German literature are too voluminous for general readers, which fault this work avoids without falling into the opposite extreme of baldness and lack of the needed connection of the parts. It has been said that no less learning and much more painstaking discrimination are required to write a condensed history of a great subject than a fuller one, with larger details; and such it may be presumed has been the case in the preparation of these volumes. It is not unlike Green's "Shorter History of the English People" in its felicitous selection and arrangement of its matter, and especially in its omissions and its groupings of its chosen parts, so as every-where to preserve the continuous course of the story. It takes up the account at the earliest beginning of the history of the German race, and brings it down to the near past in an unbroken story. Just such a book has long been needed for the use of general readers; and the thanks of the public are due to all who have been engaged in its production.

Oceana; or, England and Her Colonies. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. 8vo, pp. 396. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The "Oceana" of which Mr. Froude here writes is made up of all the lands, chiefly insular or littoral, upon which the English-speaking nationalities of our times have become domiciliated, and to which they have carried their home-learned ideas and habits, making, as Sir Charles Dilke would say, a "Greater Britain" outside the original British Islands. But the book here given us is, after the first chapter, a narration of a voyage around the world, beginning and ending in England, and chiefly passed in the Southern Hemisphere, and among "our sisters of the southern deep." It mingles in strange proximities the adventures and escapades and the petty vexations of the traveler with scientific annotations of natural objects and observations upon scenery, and profound philosophical discussions about the social and political affairs of the people. Mr. Froude's speculations may need to be carefully reviewed and verified before being adopted; but without so much painstaking one may enjoy the lively sketches of men and things, and the stories of travels and observations which make up the main part of the book. On his homeward journey Mr. Froude passed over the route from San Francisco to New York, and of what he saw he gives slight intimation in a chapter of less than twenty pages. The book is somewhat instructive as to the facts detailed and the principles suggested; it is interesting and amusing as a tale; and, because it is well written, it is decidedly agreeable reading.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The New King Arthur: An Opera Without Music. By the Author of "The Buntling Ball." Demi-quarto, pp. 165. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

If, as has been said by a high authority, we are living in "the twilight of poetry," that fact is not witnessed by any diminution of the quantity produced; for at scarcely any former time have new volumes of what purports to be poetry been poured into the trade in such abundance, of all forms and varieties, but evidently all destined to survive only for a brief day. "The New King Arthur," though not altogether outside of this class, is certainly a larger fish among minnows. It is artistic and sprightly, and not destitute of signs of cleverness—sarcastic and mirth-provoking by turns. The mystery that gathers about the authorship of "The Buntling Ball," and which now also covers that of "The New King Arthur," will not fail to add to the public interest in the poem.

How to be Happy though Married. Being a Handbook to Marriage. By a Graduate in the University of Matrimony. 12mo, pp. 285. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

In his "dedication" the author of this volume asserts by implication a great and pestilent untruth—to wit, that matrimony, while it is "a blessing to a few, is also a curse to many;" nor can we agree with him that it must or ought to be especially "a great uncertainty;" nor do we agree with him that to enter that state, however thoughtfully, requires any unusual amount of courage. But after this unpromising beginning, which seems to indicate a sad lack of appreciation in the writer of his subject, he proceeds to give some wholesome suggestions, as well as some not so good. The breeziness of the writer's spirit, and the excellence of his style and methods, render his book very readable.

A Digest of Methodist Law; or, Helps in the Administration of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Bishop S. M. MERRILL, D.D. 18mo, pp. 277. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Treatises on Methodist law and administration are becoming abundant; they are of widely different sizes, and also of degrees of merit. This one, within comparatively moderate limits, combines a practical exposition of the constitution—the make-up, or working orders—of the Church and a guide in "Judicial Administration." It is good and useful matter, but like the Apocrypha, as declared by the ancient Church, it is to be read for instruction, but it is not itself law.

The Homiletic Review. Edited by I. K. FUNK, D.D. Vol. X, from July to December, 1885. 8vo, pp. 558. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The monthly issues of the "Homiletic Review" have earned for it a reputation which no kindred publication can at all equal, and but few rival. The six numbers here bound in one volume make a rich collection of homiletical material, put up in an attractive form.

Vick's Illustrated Monthly for December 1885, closing the eighth annual volume of the publication, is of course a Christmas number, and though its date is not in the season of flowers, still the editor succeeds in making it radiant with blossoms, and brilliant with amusing and instructive reading matter of both prose and poetry. The January, 1886, number, with the name changed to the *Floral Guide*—volume ix, number 1—takes on larger proportions, extending to 112 pages, and is copiously illustrated with colored and uncolored engravings of flowers and plants, both ornamental and economical, interspersed through the descriptive letter-press matter, and other reading appropriate for its department. This number may be accepted as indicating the high-water mark of horticultural and floral literature, and it shows that while gardening and floriculture have become a science, their delineation has been raised to the status of a fine art.

Epochs of Ancient History: Spartan and Theban Supremacies. By CHARLES SANKEY, M.A., Joint Editor of the Series; Assistant Master in Marlborough College. With Five Maps. 18mo, pp. 231. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Epochs of Modern History: The Early Hanoverians. By EDWARD E. MORRIS, Professor in the English University of Melbourne. With Maps and Plans. 18mo, pp. 235. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The plan of writing history by epochs, rather than continuously through a nation's life-time, has some obvious advantages: it individualizes the epoch, and renders the subject more easy to be grasped and retained in the memory. The periods selected in both of these books are especially well defined and segregated from both what precedes and what follows. They are well written, and the mechanical work is good; and they have to an eminent degree the advantage that is ascribed to books that may be held in the hand and carried to one's place of sitting.

The Greek Islands and Turkey after the War. By HENRY M. FIELD, D.D. 12mo, pp. 228. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Dr. Field appears to have traveled, not as most Americans do, to see as many places as possible in the least time, but leisurely, taking sufficient time to study the places through which he passed. Much in the same spirit he has written out the stories of his travels, of which we have "From the Lakes of Killarney to the Golden Horn," "From Egypt to Japan," "On the Desert," and "Among the Holy Hills;" and now that above-named, which certainly possesses some special excellences. It is gossip, and yet full of valuable information, and especially abounding in lively and graphic sketches of persons and places, and in speculations on political and social affairs.

The Recreations of a Presiding Elder. By Rev. PAUL WHITEHEAD, D.D. 18mo, pp. 222. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

A reprint of sketches first printed in the "Richmond Christian Advocate." They purport to be real narratives of facts, and are quaint and breezy.

Over the Sea, and What I Saw. A Monograph. By REV. WILBUR L. DAVIDSON. Square 16mo, pp. 158. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. \$1.

"Bits of description," says the author, "selected at random from the observations of a well-filled summer," chiefly in the British Islands and in Switzerland. Decidedly readable.

Hand-Book for Bible Classes. The Acts of the Apostles. With Introduction, Maps, and Notes. By THOMAS M. LINDSAY, D.D., Professor at Glasgow. Volume II, chapters xiii-xxviii. 12mo, pp. 165. New York: Scribner & Welford.

Evangelical, scholarly, readable.

Sunrise on the Soul. A Series of Suggestions. By HUGH SMITH CARPENTER, D.D., Author of "Here and Beyond," etc. 12mo, pp. 329. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. \$1 25.

A selection of choice thoughts made by a distinguished evangelical minister. Wholesome, and very full of comfort.

My Study, and Other Essays. By AUSTIN PHILIPS, D.D., Professor Emeritus of Andover Theological Seminary. 12mo, pp. 319. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1 50.

In the leisure of a ripe old age, Professor Phelps quietly revises and edits his productions of other days, for the benefit of a later generation than that for which they were originally prepared; and they are worthy of the new lease of life thus given them.

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